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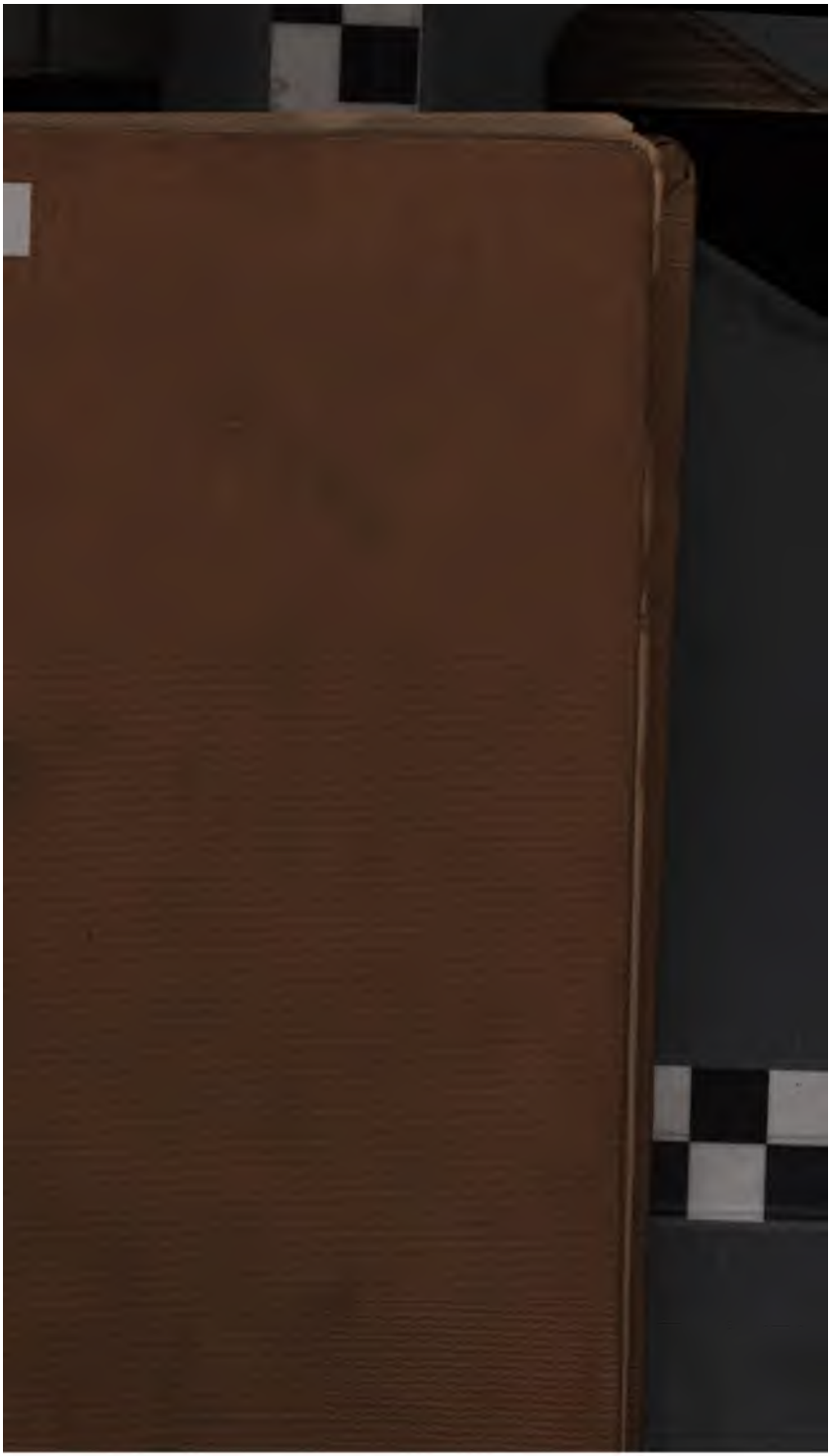

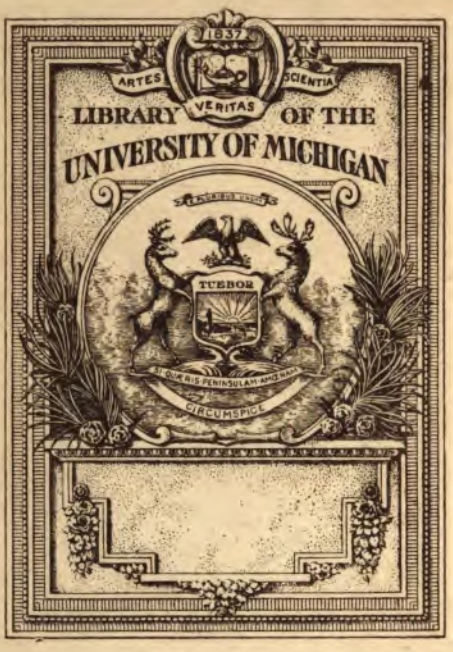
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THE PARLIAMENTARY OR CONSTITUTIONAL History of England;

BEING A

FAITHFUL ACCOUNT

Of all the

Moſt remarkable TRANSACTIONS In PARLIAMENT,

From the earlieſt TIMES,

TO THE

Reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED

From the RECORDS, the JOURNALS of both HOUSES, original MANUSCRIPTS, ſcarce SPEECHES, and TRACTS; all compared with the ſeveral Contemporary Writers, and connected, throughout, with the Hiſtory of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS.

——*Juvat integros accedere Fontes.*

VOL. XX.

From the Marching of the *Scots* Army into *England*, under the Command of King *Charles* the Second, in *Auguſt*, 1651, to the Meeting of *Cromwell*'s third Parliament, in *September*, 1656.

LONDON,

Printed, and ſold by WILLIAM SANDBY, againſt *St. Dunſtan's Church, Fleet-ſtreet*. MDCCLVII.

THE

Parliamentary Hiſtory

OF

ENGLAND.

OUR laſt Accounts left the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Armies within a few Days March of each other. Their further Progreſs will be beſt deſcribed by the following Series of original Letters to the Speaker, read in Parliament, which we ſhall give in their proper Order.

Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

On the 15th of *Auguſt* a Letter from Major-General *Harriſon*, with ſeveral intercepted Letters incloſed, from the Duke of *Hamilton*, Lord *Wentworth*, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, was read as follows: [a]

A Letter to the Speaker, from Major-General *Harriſon*, incloſing an intercepted Letter

[a] All theſe Letters were printed by Order of the Houſe, at this Time, and are in our *Collections*. That from *Harriſon* (incloſing the others) has been compared with the Original, now in the Poſſeſſion of the Rev. Dr. *Grey*, Rector of *Houghton-Conqueſt*, in *Bedfordſhire*: A Gentleman to whom the Compilers of this Work are much obliged for the Loan of ſeveral MSS. *&c.* which have greatly contributed to the Improvement of this Work.

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

Ripon, *11th Day of the 6th Month*, 1651, *about Noon*.

SIR,

'I Shall ſpare giving any large Account of our 'Affairs, having lately given the Council 'that Trouble; whereof I believe you will not be 'ignorant, or of ſo much as is worthy the Parlia-'ment's Knowledge.

'This Morning I received an Expreſs from 'Major-General *Lambert*, dated the 9th, about 'Twelve at Noon, within ten Miles of *Penrith*, 'and ſeveral Letters incloſed, which he had ta-'ken, and therewith ſix of the Enemy convoying 'them, whereof two were Lairds. He deſired my 'Diſpatch of theſe Letters to my Lord-General '*Cromwell*, which accordingly I have done: But 'conſidering that they came from the Duke of *Ha-'milton*, Lord *Lauderdale*, and Lord *Wentworth*; 'and that the Eſteem they have of the Preſbyte-'rian Party, (whom *Hamilton* calls Rogues, and '*Lauderdale* thinks they are very well rid of) and 'the Pleaſure they take in their preſent pure Ca-'valieriſh Compoſition, may help to ſatisfy thoſe 'diſpleaſed Friends, I thought it my Duty to tranſ-'mit you Copies of them, till his Excellency can 'ſend the Originals, I being ſo much nearer than 'he is.

'I am confident the Duke ſpeaks their very 'Heart, not knowing the Danger of the Convey-'ance as the other did, who writ accordingly: And 'we expect, Day by Day, the Lord will more open 'their Eyes to ſee the Snare whereunto himſelf in 'Judgment hath led them: So that the Terrors 'of the Lord will prove a ſorer Enemy to them 'than we.

'My Lord *Howard*'s Son commanded a Troop 'at *Carliſle*, whom 'ere this I had ſecured, but 'that he is his Son. He took off with him but '12 of his Troop, (as the Major-General and the 'Governor of *Carliſle* inform me) which would 'have been caſhiered, had we had Opportunity, 'and they ſtaid. The Riddance of ſuch are no

'Loſs

'Loſs to us, nor their Acceſſion Strength to them. Inter-regnum, 1651. Auguſt.
'The Major-General will be this Night, I hope,
'in their Rear, and I am haſtening to get the Van,
'and if poſſible to recover the Middle Parts of
'*Lancaſhire* before; for which Purpoſe, the Lord
'pleaſing, I deſign this Night to be at *Skipton*, and
'ſo towards *Preſton* or *Mancheſter*, as Providence
'ſhall direct.

'If the Enemy keep conſtant Motion he might
'be near *Preſton* this Night, as he lay at *Kendal* on
'*Saturday*, which is but about 35 Miles diſtant,
'and ſo may put us a little to it to reach him. I
'know the Major-General will not let their Rear
'go off quietly, whereby he may eaſily clog their
'March.

'My Lord-General is in *Northumberland*, and
'Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* writes me he will be at
'*Hexham* on *Tueſday*; I believe ſooner, knowing
'he will make Haſte.

'The Lord prepare all our Hearts for the great
'Mercy he will ſhortly ſhew us, (whereof, thro'
'his Grace, we do not in the leaſt doubt) and help
'us to cry to him for Strength againſt his and our
'inward Enemies, whilſt he ſtrengthens us againſt
'his and our outward Enemies. Pardon my Rude-
'neſs; I am upon my March, and in ſome Haſte
'ſubſcribe myſelf

Your moſt humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

The intercepted Letters mentioned in the foregoing. And firſt,

A LETTER *from the Duke of* Hamilton *to Mr.* William Crofts:

Dear WILL. Penrith, Auguſt 8, 1651.

THE laſt Thing I did was to drink your Health with Lord Thomas, Dan. O'Neal, *and* Lauderdale, *who are now all laughing at the Ridiculouſneſs of our Condition. We have quitted* Scotland, *being ſcarce able to maintain it; and yet we* From the Duke of *Hamilton*,

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

graſp at all, and nothing but all will ſatisfy us, or to loſe all. I confeſs I cannot tell you whether our Hopes or Fears are greateſt; but we have one ſtout Argument, Deſpair; *for we muſt now either ſtoutly fight or die. All the Rogues have left us, I ſhall not ſay whether for Fear or Diſloyalty; but all now with his Majeſty are ſuch as will not diſpute his Commands. Lord* Thomas *tells me he will explain all this to you; ſo I tell you nothing but what you knew before, that I am*

Yours,

HAMILTON.

From Lord *Wentworth* [b] to the ſame.

From the Leaguer by *Penrith*,

My dear Couſin, *Auguſt* 8, 1651.

Another from Lord *Wentworth*,

I Wrote to you a long Letter by Mr. Sandys, *by whom I alſo ſent you an Order from the King for the Payment of* 500 l. Sterling *to me, out of the Money you got for his Majeſty in* Poland. *I did deſire you, in that Letter, in the firſt Place to pay yourſelf out of it, and then to ſend me the reſt with the beſt Speed and Conveniency you could. I ſhould now, by this, deſire you to ſend to my Lady* Lauderdale 100 l. Sterl. *of that Money into* Holland, *or to any other Place ſhe ſhall deſire it in. I have borrowed the Money here of her Lord, and this is one Way he hath choſen to ſupply his Wife with ſuch a Sum of Money.* Mon cher Couſin, *I am confident you will be careful in this Matter, as I ſhall be in any Thing that concerns you. Concerning your own Buſineſs, I wrote you at large in my laſt, and ſo have no more to ſay for the preſent.*

For the public News; this is all: By God's Grace we are come as far as Penrith, *in* Cumberland, *with a good Army of* 14 *or* 15,000 *Foot, and about* 6000 *Horſe, all abſolutely at the King's Command, as much as any Army that ever I ſaw under the Command of his Father. We are marching forward, and this Morning Mr.* Howard, *whom the King*

[b] Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Cleveland*.

King knighted, is come over to him with his whole Troop. We have very good Hopes that others will follow. I am now in an Army where our Friends are together, and where you are many Times remembred. The Times are well changed ſince this Time twelve Months. Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

Mon cher Couſin,

I am yours,

THO. WENTWORTH.

From the Earl of *Lauderdale* to the Lord *Balcarras*.

Charlton, *near* Penrith,
My dear Lord, Aug. 8, 1651.

I Cannot neglect any Occaſion to let you know his Majeſty and his Army are well, God be praiſed. Never Men were more hearty for all their Toil; and, ſeriouſly, you would not know this Army. A natural Purge is wholeſome, and I hope ours is ſuch, when all the ill Humours are gone. Truſt me we have not taken the Worth of Six-pence, and the Country is kind to us; we might have Men enough if we could get Arms; ſome we get. This poor Place hath given in a Day's Bread and Cheeſe, which is our firſt Supply in England. *We have a ſtrong Party advanced to* Kendal *for more Proviſions, whither we are to march To-morrow, God willing. More I would write, but it is probable my Friends ſhall not be the firſt that ſhall ſee this; for it goes a Way I am not ſure of, and through an Enemy's Quarters a long Way.* And two from the Earl of *Lauderdale.*

I ſhall intreat you to haſte the incloſed to Holland *by the firſt ſafe Occaſion; and if my Lord* Inchiquin *come and bring any Bill from my Wife for* 100l. *payable upon Sight, let him not want it; this is Juſtice. I have ſaid this, more I would ſay of my private Buſineſs, but I have no Time to write, and, as I ſaid, the Conveyance is dangerous: I ſhall only acquaint you that this Morning the Lord* Howard *of* Eſkrick's *Son is come in to his Majeſty, and with him*

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

him his whole Troop; his Majeſty received him graciouſly, and immediately did knight him. He is the firſt, but I have Reaſon to believe he ſhall not be the laſt, ere long, that ſhall return to his Duty.

Yeſterday we had a ſmall Party, commanded by Capt. Inglis, *of the Regiment that was* Riccarton's, *who diſcovered about* 20 *of the Enemy; he ſent a Corporal and ſix Horſe, who drove them before them; then he advanced himſelf alone, and only two with him; they overtook them at a Gate which the Enemy were making faſt, ſo the Enemy made Haſte off, but* Inglis *received a Shot in his Leg, which I hope is nothing: Upon this, and the Intelligence that* 1000 *Horſe of the Enemy were near, the Right Wing of our Horſe advanced very faſt half Way to* Apulby; *but finding it impoſſible to overtake them, ſeeing they were then the Length of* Brough, *we retired, having only the Advantage to get us hot Coats; and mine was as hot as ever in my Life.*

This Day, to refreſh our Men, we reſt; To-morrow we march (God willing) towards Kendal.

When I know of a good Occaſion I ſhall write again. I ſhall intreat you to ſend to Holland, *with this incloſed, a Copy of the King's Declaration, which I ſent you. I cannot ſend it herewith, for taking too much Room. My Service to all Friends, eſpecially my dear* Cummer, *and ſhe that is your Wife and mine; and make my Excuſe that I wrote not to any of them, it being impoſſible, for the King is in Bed, and I lie this Night in his Chamber; ſo I have Time to ſay no more, but farewell. God ſend us a good Meeting.*

Yours,

LAUDERDALE.

P. S. *Let the Juſtice-Clerk direct this, and all that go to my Wife into* Holland, *to Sir* Alexander Home, *Maſter-Houſholder to the Princeſs Royal, at her Highneſs's Court at the* Hague.

We have not got a Man of the Galloway *or* Nithſdale *Foot, ſo your Committee muſt be careful for levying them. His Majeſty hath commanded them*

them not to follow him. You are ſlow in writing; we have not heard from you ſince we parted. Inter-regnum 1651. Auguſt.

From the Earl of *Lauderdale* to his Lady.

My dear Heart, Charlton, Aug. 8, 1651.

I Wrote unto you, at length, by Sir William Bellenden, *and gave you Notice of* 100l. *Sterling, which is ſent over to you by Bill. I was aſhamed it was ſo little, but I could not help it. I have now made a Bargain with a Noble Friend of mine, my Lord* Wentworth, *for another* 100l. *Sterling, to be paid to you by Mr.* William Crofts, *who was his Majeſty's Ambaſſador in* Poland. *I am ſure Mr.* Crofts *hath all the King's Money that he received there, at leaſt the far greateſt Part of it, in his own Hands; and I am certain the King hath given a Warrant to pay more Money to my Lord* Wentworth, *therefore, if this Letter come ſafe, I do not at all doubt of the Payment of the Money to you. My greateſt Doubt is the ſafe conveying this Letter to you; but I am reſolved to adventure it, and ſome others to this Purpoſe, many Ways, leſt it come not. Your Couſin* Shenbury *will inform you for certain where Mr.* Crofts *is, and there you are to advertiſe him where you will have the Money paid, and he will pay it as ſoon as my Lord* Wentworth's *Letter comes to his Hands. This incloſed Writ, directed to Mr.* Crofts, *you are to be careful that it come to his Hands. I have written to my Lord* Balcarras *to pay punctually to my Lord* Inchiquin *the* 100l. *Sterling, upon Sight of your Order, that you have received; as alſo, if his Credit can reach ſo far, to ſend you another* 100l. *This is all that a ruined, plundered Man, without an Eſtate, can do. If I were able to provide for you better, truly I ſhould do it; and, as I write often, it is my greateſt Trouble you ſhould have been ſo ill provided.*

As for News, I can tell you little:

His Majeſty is thus far advanced into England, *with a very good Army, able, by the Bleſſing of God, to do his Buſineſs: They are, I dare ſay, near double the*

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the Number of thoſe that the King of Sweden *enter'd* Germany *with, if they be not more. As ſoon as we came into* England *his Majeſty was, by an* Engliſhman, *(whom he made King at Arms) proclaimed King of* England, *at the Head of the Army, with great Acclamations of the Army, and ſhooting off all the Cannon of the Army. Then Yeſterday he was proclaimed here in* Penrith, *and will be in all the Market-Towns where we march. Never was an Army ſo regular as we have been ſince we came into* England; *I dare ſay we have not taken the Worth of Six-Pence: And whatever you hear of our Misfortunes in* Fife, *or whatever our Enemy print or write, truſt me, this is the beſt* Scots *Army that ever I ſaw, and I hope ſhall prove beſt. All thoſe that were unwilling to hazard all in this Cauſe with their King, moſt of them have, upon a ſpecious Pretence, left us. This is a natural Purge, and will do us much Good. Nothing of Action yet done, except the driving of ſome ſmall Parties, with which I will not trouble you. One Thing I cannot forget; this Day my Lord* Howard *of* Eſkrick's *Son came in to us from the Enemy, with his whole Troop. His Majeſty received him graciouſly, and immediately knighted him. He is the firſt, but I am confident a few Days will ſhew us more that will return to their Duty. This Letter is to go To-night, and a great Way through the Enemy's Quarters; it is Odds of Lay it ever come to you, I ſhall therefore ſay no more.*

Remember my Service to your Noble Couſin Shenbury. *I am aſhamed to write to him till I can tell him ſome extraordinary good News, which I hope ſhall, by the Grace of God, be ſhortly. He may be aſſured none alive is more his Servant, than your own kindeſt*

LAUDERDALE.

P. S. *My Bleſſing to* Mary, *and my Service to all other Friends. I have no Time to write; neither is it pleaſant, when it is likely others may ſee my Letters before my Friend. I am aſhamed to write to Mr.* Crofts *myſelf, ſeeing it is when Money is deſired at the ſame Time to be paid to you.*

Of

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

Of Cromwell's *Motions you will hear better from* Scotland. *I have alſo written to my Lord* Balcarras *to ſend you a Copy of the King's Declaration to the Kingdom of* England. *I cannot get it ſent herewith.*

Aug. 16. A Letter from the Governor of *Oxford*, to the Council of State, was read:

Right Honourable, *Auguſt* 15, 1651.

A Series of Letters from different Parts, concerning the marching of the King's Army, and that of the Parliament's to oppoſe them.

'HAving, upon this Invaſion of the *Scots*, made my Application to the Vice-Chancellor, to know what Aſſiſtance I might expect in Caſe of Danger, I was chearfully aſſured of 120 Horſe, with able, and I believe well-affected, Riders, which I have preſumed to head, and exerciſe two ſeveral Days, being deſired by them to be their Leader; promiſing the Officers, for the preſent, to procure Commiſſions, which I humbly implore your Honours ſpeedily to diſpatch; they being many Gentlemen of Quality, and likely to coſt you little more than Words; and I doubt not but, by my Endeavours, to procure a Regiment of Volunteers, all faithful Men, or a Number proportionable in Horſe and Dragoons, which will be a very great Security to us, a Terror to the Malignants, an Encouragement to our Friends, and a conſiderable Advantage to the Commonwealth. I humbly take my Leave, and remain

Your humble and faithful Servant,

WILL. DRAPER.

Another Letter to the ſame, from the Commiſſioners of the Militia for the County of *Leiceſter:*

Right Honourable, *Leiceſter*, *Aug.* 13, 1651.

'WE received your Lordſhip's Letter of the 11th Inſtant by this Bearer, being met here this Day upon ſome Intelligence of the *Scots* March into *England*; whereupon, the laſt Lord's Day, we ſent through this County to invite all well-

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

'well-affected Perſons to come in hither to us, with 'their Horſes and Arms, and have a full and free 'Appearance here this Day; the People generally 'ſhewing themſelves unanimous, and ready to join 'againſt the common Enemy. We have alſo gi-'ven Order to draw all our liſted Horſe together, 'that they may be ready to execute your Lord-'ſhip's Directions. We ſhall uſe all poſſible Di-'ligence in this important Service, upon all Occa-'ſions, and ſhall thoroughly endeavour to unite 'the whole County in the common Defence there-'of, and to prevent and ſuppreſs the Attempts and 'Enterprizes of all that would diſturb it; and, to 'that End, ſhall diligently obſerve and put in Exe-'cution your Directions on that Behalf, humbly 'deſiring your Lordſhip's Approbation of what we 'have already done in the preſent Service, where-'in we apprehended ſo great Neceſſity.'

Aug. 18. Letters from Major-General *Harriſon*, Lord *Grey*[c], and others, addreſs'd to Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Lord-Preſident of the Council of State, were read.

Bolton, [*in* Lancaſhire] 15*th Day of the* 6*th Month*, 1651, *near Two in the Morning.*

My Lord,

'I Receiv'd yours of the 11th Inſt. by Mr. *Paine*, 'and one before by your other Meſſenger; I 'muſt crave your Pardon that I have not written 'to you ſince. I was at *Ripon*, expecting a Con-'junction with Major-General *Lambert*, and I for-'bore theſe two Days, till I might have ſomething 'conſiderable to ſignify. Yeſterday we joined on '*Haſle-Moor*, and are now about 6000 Horſe in 'the Van of the Enemy. The Enemy made ſome 'Halt on *Elhill-Moor*, four Miles on this Side '*Lancaſter*, whereby we were ſomewhat amazed, 'thinking the might be on Councils for a timely 'Retreat to their own Country; but this Day, 'about Noon, we received Underſtanding of their 'Ad-

[c] Heir Apparent to the Earl of *Stamford*, and Member for the Town of *Leiceſter*.

'Advance for *Preſton*, and ſoon after of their 'March through a Town on this Side; in Deſign, 'probably, to get before us to the Paſs at *War-* 'rington, where we have about 3000 Foot (wait- 'ing Conjunction with us) from *Cheſhire* and *Staf-* 'fordſhire. Thereupon we marched to this Place, 'and To-morrow Morning, by Day-light, ſhall 'be ſetting forth for *Warrington*, the Lord willing, 'whereabouts the Country being more open and 'champainous, after the Acceſſion of theſe Foot, 'we truſt we ſhall be uſed by our God to bring it 'to a ſpeedy and glorious Iſſue. Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

'Their King, we hear, is diſcontented and caſt 'down, that his Subjects, as he ſtill calls them, 'come in no faſter to him; his Expectations being 'great therein, though anſwered inconſiderably 'either as to Perſons or Numbers, many more 'of their old Soldiers running away from them 'daily than we can underſtand of any Acceſs to 'them. There is a Rumour of their Intendment 'for the landing of ſome Troops in *North-Wales* 'from the Iſle of *Man*; but of that no Certainty; 'though it may be a further Argument to you that 'the Iſle of *Man* ſhould be well guarded.

'*Cheſhire* hath been very forward in their Levies 'upon this Emergency, moſt of the Foot above- 'mentioned being from thence. Six hundred of 'Col. *Jennings*'s Horſe are come to *Mancheſter*, 'whom I have ſent to, that they may meet us at '*Warrington*.

'There are ſeveral Things I ſhould have touch- 'ed to your Lordſhip, but I hope you ſhall receive 'a further Account from *Warrington*, in the Even- 'ing. I commend your weighty Affairs to the 'Grace of an approved good Lord, in whom we 'reſt abſolutely aſſured of a wonderful and glorious 'Iſſue of the Work in Hand; remaining,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful Servant to my Power,

T. HARRISON.

Ho-

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

Honoured Sir, *Newcaſtle, Aug.* 14, 1651.

'ON *Tueſday* laſt his Excellency croſſed the 'Tyne, at *Newburn*, with eight Regiments 'of Foot, and two Regiments of *Hacker*'s and '*Thomlinſon*'s Horſe, ſome eight Guns, *&c.* and 'pitched their Tents on *Ryton-Haugh*, juſt by the 'Water-Side, and my Lord quartered at *Stella-Houſe*, hard by the Camp. The Soldiers were 'much tired out by ſo faſt a March, and wanting 'Proviſions, I ſent to them from this Town, by our 'Governor's Order, Bread, Cheeſe, Biſcuit, and 'Beer. Yeſterday the Mayor and Magiſtrates of 'this Town went to viſit my Lord-General at '*Stella*; they carried up good Store of Proviſions 'for the Officers and Soldiers, and freely beſtowed 'all upon them that this Town could afford in Pro-'viſion. The Soldiers were very quiet, not one 'loud Word in the whole Camp, nor an Oath; 'but carry wonderful fair in all their March, and 'not the leaſt Abuſe offered by them to the Coun-'try.

'This Morning my Lord and the whole Army 'marched from *Ryton* towards *Branſpeth*, betimes; 'and it is ſaid my Lord-General quarters this Night 'at *Branſpeth*. Col. *Lilburne*, with 1000 Horſe, 'marched over *Newburn* on *Tueſday* betimes, to 'join with Major-General *Lambert* and Major-'General *Harriſon*; who, we hear, were to join 'about *Skipton* two Days ſince. I believe the *Scots* 'Army is about *Kirby-Lonſdale*, and think that our 'Forces are gotten Southward before the Enemy 'by this Time.

Your very humble Servant,

T. E.

My Lord, *Warrington, Aug.* 15, 1651.

'I Have received both your Lordſhip's, *&c.* As 'to your firſt, I thought I could not better an-'ſwer it than by Action, wherein I was ſo much 'engaged, that indeed I had not Leiſure otherwiſe 'to do it. I had only Time to acquaint the Coun-

'cil

'cil of State, that I had got a Party ready to march 'to a Conjunction with Major-General *Harriſon*, 'which I have done, through the Lord's Goodneſs, 'this Day, with betwixt 6 and 700 Horſe and Dra- 'goons, well arm'd at this Place. Our Deſign, 'for the preſent, is, having here ſome 8000 Horſe, '1000 Dragoons, and about 3000 Foot, to main- 'tain this Paſs at *Warrington* till the General come 'up with his Infantry, who is expected here with- 'in ſome three or four Days, theſe Counties be- 'ing chiefly for Foot Service; and, in the mean 'Time, the Counties from all Hands are drawing 'up to us.

Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

'The Enemy lies betwixt *Wigan* and *Preſton*, 'being in a forlorn and wretched Condition, ra- 'ther decreaſing than at all increaſing. A Letter, 'lately intercepted from one of the chiefeſt in their 'Army, acknowledges very much Deſperation.

My Lord,

Your faithful humble Servant,

H. D.

Aug. 17, 1651, *Two o'Clock in the Afternoon.*

My Lord,

'LAST Night I received an Expreſs from 'our Commiſſioners in *Leiceſterſhire*, of that 'County's unanimous Willingneſs to engage againſt 'the Enemy, and that the only Difficulty they meet 'with is to provide Horſes for their Men, which 'will haſten me hither To-morrow, according to 'my laſt; not doubting, by God's Bleſſing, but 'to give your Lordſhip a good Account of our Pro- 'ceedings there, and in *Rutland*, which ſhall be 'the Endeavours of,

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate and humble Servant,

THO. GREY.

My

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

At the Camp near Warrington-Bridge, *the 16th Day of the 6th Month, about Eleven in the Morning.*

My Lord,

'HAving join'd with Major-General *Lambert*, 'about Twelve at Noon, on the 13th Inſt. 'on *Haſle-Moor*, within ſeven Miles of *Preſton*; 'the Enemy, according to our beſt Intelligence, 'lying then on *Elhill-Moor*, four Miles on this Side '*Lancaſter*, and that Evening march'd to *Haworth-Moor*, within eight Miles of *Preſton*, and Yeſterday through *Preſton* towards *Wigan*; deſigning, 'as we conceive, to get up to *Warrington-Bridge* 'before us; and Yeſterday receiving a ſudden Account of their marching through the Town, we 'croſſed the Country, and about One of the Clock 'this Morning reached *Bolton*; and, after ſome 'ſhort Stay for refreſhing our Men, we marched 'away for *Warrington*, where we are now, in Conjunction with about 4000 Foot and Dragoons, 'raiſed in *Cheſhire* and *Staffordſhire*.

'We are improving the little Time we have got 'before them here, to the ſpoiling the Fords and 'Paſſes on the River, eſpecially between us and '*Mancheſter*; leaving thoſe only open to them 'where, if they attempt a Paſſage, we may be moſt 'conſiderable to make Oppoſition; and, if the Lord 'will, engage them. Wherein we wait his Pleaſure and Providence concerning us, not queſtioning but, if we be clearly call'd to give them Battle, 'or if they ſeek us out and force us to it, (as in 'Reaſon it ſeems to be much their Intereſt) before 'my Lord-General comes up with the Foot and 'Train, which is by this Time about *Barnard-Caſtle*, we ſhall find our Hearts filled with a heavenly Power from the Lord, and ſee his antient 'Arm lifted up, as in former Times, againſt his 'Enemies. I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

P. S. 'We expect this Day they will attempt 'to force their Paſſage at ſome of the narroweſt 'Paſſes,

'Paſſes, where they apprehend our Reſiſtance leaſt 'conſiderable. We are appointing a Council to 'conſider whether we ſhould not withdraw, tho' 'there be a Spirit given generally to preſs to engage 'them, if the Lord ſhould vouchſafe an open Field 'for it.'

Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

Beſides all the foregoing Letters, the Parliament received Advice from *Chepſtow*, that, at a Rendezvous of their Forces in that Neighbourhood, there appeared 6000 Horſe and Foot, who had ſecured ſuch Gentlemen of that Country as they ſuſpected, and ſeized moſt of the Horſes in *Monmouthſhire*: Alſo from *Briſtol*, That that City was raiſing a Troop of Horſe; and that the Governor had ordered all Strangers to depart thence in twelve Hours, and the Innkeepers to bring in, every Night, an Account of their Gueſts.

Aug. 19. Another Letter from Major-General *Harriſon*, to the Preſident of the Council of State, was read.

Upon the March from Knotsford *towards* Congleton, Aug. 17, 1651, *about Nine of the Clock.*

SIR,

'YEſterday, the 16th, the Enemy came on 'with their whole Army, and preſs'd to paſs 'at the Bridge, and Fort near it, which we had 'broken down and ſpoil'd as well as we could in 'ſo ſhort a Time. A Company of our Foot were 'drawn down to the Barricade of the Bridge, who 'behaved themſelves gallantly, and gave the Ene'my Oppoſition, till we ſaw Cauſe to draw them 'off, ſecuring their Retreat by Parties of Horſe; 'which we did, becauſe we were unwilling to en'gage the whole Army, where our Horſe could 'not come to make Service thro' the Incloſures: 'The Enemy thereupon haſten'd over their whole 'Army, and their King in the Van, if not Forlorne, 'which was his own Life Guard, as ſome Priſon'ers told us ſince; and preſs'd hard upon our Rear, 'where-

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'whereof Col. *Rich* had the Guard, who wheel'd 'off Parties, and charged them thrice as they 'came on, and the Lord every Time cauſed thoſe 'of the Enemy, that were ſo forward, to fly before 'us.

'We kill'd the Officer that commanded one of 'their Parties, and two or three Troopers; and 'ſome Countrymen ſince bring us in Word that '28 of theirs were ſlain in the ſeveral Skirmiſhes, 'and but four of ours that I can hear of, there, 'and at the Bridge.

'As they fell on they cried, *Oh you Rogues, we 'will be with you before your* Cromwell *comes*; 'which made us think they would preſs to engage 'us with all Speed.

'We are drawing up at *Knotsford* Moor to wait 'them, though we hear ſince, that they marched a 'good Part of the Night on the *London* Road.

Your faithful Servant,

THO. HARRISON.

Aug. 20. This Day a Letter from Major-General *Harriſon*, to the Speaker, was read.

SIR, *Lecke, Aug.* 18, 1651.

'THIS Night we quartered with our Forces 'at *Lecke*, in *Staffordſhire*, intending for '*Cheadle*, towards *Bagot's-Bromley* To-morrow. 'The Enemy ſeems to be much diſcouraged by the 'ſeaſonable Preparation of Forces the Parliament 'is making thereabouts; by the Country's forbear-'ing to come in to them as they expected; and, 'laſtly, by the Inconſiderableneſs of the Earl of '*Derby*'s Forces; who, after all that Noiſe, can 'make but 250 Foot and 60 unarm'd Horſe, as 'our beſt Intelligence ſaith, with whom he landed 'on *Saturday* laſt, at *Wier*-Water, in *Lancaſhire*, 'haſting to his King, if not interrupted in the 'Way, which we hope he will be. Their Army, 'we heard this Morning, lay laſt Night about '*Northwich*, and this Evening advanced between

'*Nant-*

'*Nantwich* and *Cheſter*; their Councils ſeem very unſteady.' Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

Aug. 21. The Houſe received Intelligence, That the *Scots* Army lay on the 17th at *Northwich*, and the next Day advanced between *Nantwich* and *Cheſter*; and that Major-General *Lambert* and the Forces with him were chearfully followed by the Officers and Soldiers of the *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire* Militia of Foot; who, upon this Emergency, (though their Harveſt was ready to cut) promiſed not to leave them till they either ſhould be properly diſmiſſed, or the Lord put a ſeaſonable Iſſue to this Buſineſs.

The ſame Day a Letter from the Committee of the Militia at *Coventry*, to the Speaker, was read:

Right Honourable,

'WE being now neareſt the Enemy, take ourſelves obliged to give you this Account of their Motion. The laſt Night they were encamped upon *Blore-Heath*, in this County, not far from *Drayton*, amongſt whom we ſent a Soldier the laſt Night, who had a View of them, being near their King's Tent there. We had alſo a Gentleman, this Morning, who had the View of their March Yeſterday. They have betwixt 5 and 6000 weak Horſe, and ſome 6 or 7000 very ſickly Foot.

'We hear further that, upon *Sunday* Night laſt, my Lord of *Derby* came up to them, who brought with him ſome 60 Horſe, moſtly Gentlemen; and return'd back towards *Lancaſhire*, where he left his Foot, ſome 200, to raiſe more. This Day we have an Account that they are moved with their Body to *Newport*, where we ſuppoſe their Head Quarters will be this Night.'

Aug. 22. Mr. *Bond* reported from the Council of State, That Major-General *Lambert* had ſent them a Copy of a Letter to him from Col. *Rich-*

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ard Duckenfield, Governor of *Cheſter*; adviſing, That ſome Parties from thence having taken ſeveral of the *Scots* Army Priſoners; a Letter from the King to Major-General *Maſſey* (who was employed to ſolicit Aſſiſtance from the Miniſters in *Lancaſhire*) was found upon one of thoſe that were mortally wounded; and that *Lambert* had ſent a Copy thereof to *Cromwell*.

The King's Letter was *in hæc Verba:*

From *Stoke*, three Miles from *Nantwich*, *Aug.* 18, late.

Major-Gen. MASSEY,

I Am informed that, by ſome Miſtake, a Clauſe is added to the Letter from the Preſbytery of the Army to the Miniſters of Lancaſhire, *which may be very dangerous, by breeding Diviſion amongſt thoſe that would own me: For I hear they do add to the Letter a Deſire that Conſideration be taken of Men's former Malignancy.*

How dangerous this may be, and how inconſiſtent with a former Expreſſion of the Letter of the Kirk of Scotland, *owning this Army, I leave you to judge: Therefore I would have you burn the Letter, and then I am ſure it is loſt, and can do no Hurt.*

Haſte you to the Army, where you will be of very great Uſe the Way we are to march. I am

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

Next a Copy of a Letter from Col. *Moncke*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read:

Stirling, Aug. 14, 1651.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

'THIS Day, very early in the Morning, our 'Guns began to play, and before Six at 'Night the Enemy in the Caſtle craved Leave to 'capitulate, which was agreed unto by the Con-

'ſent

'sent of the Officers, and the Surrender to be by Ten of the Clock next Day. Inter-regnum: 1651. August.

'When I sent my Summons to them, they seemed to be so valiant that they wanted Civility to return me an Answer. The Records which were at *Edinburgh* are to be given up to us, which shall be disposed of as your Excellency shall think fit.

'I hope to be on my March towards *Dundee* before this Letter comes to your Hands, to reduce that Town and Castle that commands the River.

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

GEO. MONCKE.

Aug. 23 [d]. This Day the Parliament received Intelligence from the Majors General *Lambert* and *Harrison*, dated the 22d, That the *Scots* Army lay the Night before at *Tonge*, in *Shropshire*, and that they inclined towards *Worcester*; that Col. *Danvers*, Governor of *Stafford*, with some few Horse, fell in upon some of their Quarters, and killed five of their Men; but gave an Alarm to the whole Army.

By another Letter it was certified that the *Scots* had, of Horse and Foot, 120 Colours; that their Horse were poor and harrassed out; that their Foot were miserably ragged, and sick Creatures a great Number of them; that their King was sound, with Cap in Hand, desiring them yet a little longer to stick to him; persuading them that, within two Days March, they should come into a Country where all Things would be plentifully provided for them, and shortly thence to *London:* That the Parliament's Forces were at *Tamworth*, and from thence had sent several Parties to attend the Enemy's Motion; and to dispose their own Marches, in order to a Conjunction with the Lord-General, and the other Forces lately sent from *London*.

[d] There is an *Hiatus* in the printed Journals of this Day, which is supplied from *The Proceedings of Parliament*, N°. 100.

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

Aug. 25. A Letter from the Mayor and City of *Glouceſter*, to the Speaker, was read.

SIR, *Aug.* 23, 1651.

'THE Enemy came to *Worceſter* Yeſterday, 'where, there being ſome Foot of the Coun-'try, and ſome Horſe, they made a gallant Reſiſt-'ance, and ſeveral Times beat them back: But per-'ceiving that, thro' the Treachery of ſome in the 'Town, the Townſmen had laid down their Arms, 'and ſome of them ſhot out of the Windows on 'our Men, while they were fighting for them, our 'Forces removed the Magazine, and withdrew 'their Horſe and Foot, while 30 Men only reſiſted 'the Enemy, and beat them back; at laſt (when 'our Forces were ſecure on their Way to *Glou-'ceſter*) theſe alſo withdrew, and left the Town of '*Worceſter* to the Enemy.

'All our Forces are now ſafe here, at *Glouceſter*, 'which is ſtrongly fortified, and the Citizens unani-'mouſly provided to reſiſt any Attempt that ſhall 'be made on this City.'

This Account gave ſo great Satisfaction to the Houſe, that they ordered a Letter of Thanks to the Mayor and City of *Glouceſter*, for their Fidelity and good Affections to the Parliament.

A Letter ſent from the King to the City of *London*, ordered to be burnt,

The King having ſent a Letter, dated the 16th of this Month, addreſs'd to the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, and Mr. *Whitlocke* having reported from the Council of State, a Proclamation thereupon; after ſome Alterations made by the Houſe, it was ordered to be printed forthwith, and publiſhed the next Day at Noon, with Drum and Trumpet, at the *Exchange* in *London*, and in *Weſtminſter* by the Serjeant at Arms. The Council of State was alſo directed to take Care of the Publication thereof in all other Cities and Towns throughout *England*. And the King's Letter was ordered to be burnt at the *Exchange* in *London*, by the Hands of the common Hangman.

We

We have not been able to meet with a Copy of his Majeſty's Letter; but the Parliament's Proclamation thereupon was *in hæc Verba:* Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

Aug. 25, 1651.

'WHereas divers of the *Scots* Nation, and ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, being lately come out of *Scotland* into *England*, with their Leader *Charles Stuart*, Son to the late Tyrant, do here levy War againſt the Commonwealth, and commit many Outrages, Spoils, and Murders upon the People of this Nation: And the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath cauſed himſelf, by the ſaid Men of *Scotland* and *Engliſh* Fugitives, to be proclaimed King of *England*; and, by Declarations, proſcribing ſome who have performed great and excellent Service to the Public, and offering Indulgences to others, would draw Adherents to him in his wicked and traiterous Practices; particularly by Letters in his Name, directed to the City of *London*, and ſpread abroad by ſome of his clandeſtine Agents, he labours to court them to his Party, by boaſting his own Condition, and by endeavouring to annihilate the Honour and Eſteem of the Parliament and their Forces; who, through God's Mercy, have been ſo often inſtrumental to chaſtiſe him and his Confederates; and will, through God's Bleſſing we truſt, ſtill prove a burthenſome Stone unto them; hoping, it ſeems, in the mean Time, that that famous City, (whoſe Faithfulneſs and eminent Services in behalf of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, are ever to be acknowledged) and that others of this Land and Nation, into whom, by his Cunning and Flatteries, he would thus inſinuate, can forget the horrid and bloody War raiſed by the late Tyrant his Father, and the Devaſtations attending it; and, by his Deluſions and Impoſtures, be perſuaded to betray themſelves and their Liberties again into Vaſſalage and Bondage, which, thro' the Goodneſs of God, at ſo great

And a Proclamation iſſued, declaring him a Traitor.

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'an Expence of Blood and Treaſure, have been 'vindicated from the Pride and Tyranny of that 'Man and his Father's Houſe:

'Which laborious Fraud and Falſhood of him 'the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath hitherto notwith-'ſtanding, thro' the Favour of God to his People, 'proved of ſmall or no Effect but to aggravate his 'own Guilt, he being a Traitor of a former Date, 'and to render himſelf and his Accomplices more 'and more obnoxious to the Penalties of the Laws 'of *England*, declaring and adjudging that High 'Treaſon, wherein they are ſo deeply and deſpe-'rately involved:

'And whereas, by a late Act and Declaration 'of Parliament, all Perſons have been warned and 'commanded not to give any Countenance or Aſ-'ſiſtance to the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, or his Party; 'but to oppoſe them, and to aſſiſt the Forces of 'this Commonwealth for apprehending of them, 'to which a moſt chearful and general Obedience 'hath been given by the People according to their 'Duty, wherein the Parliament doth humbly ac-'knowledge the Goodneſs of God to this Nation, 'and ſhall not fail to manifeſt their good Accep-'tance of the People's Affections herein:

'All which the Parliament of *England* having 'taken into their ſerious Conſideration, altho' they 'cannot conceive that any true *Engliſhman* can be 'debauched from the Duty and Fidelity which they 'owe to their native Country, upon ſuch deluding 'and falſe Pretences as the Enemy hath uſed, and 'therefore it is not neceſſary to make any further 'Declaration herein; yet, for the more Notoriety 'of the Fact to all Perſons concerned to take 'Knowledge of the ſame, and to avoid all Pretence 'of Ignorance in any touching the Condition of 'this Man and his Followers, have thought fit to 'publiſh and declare the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, to be 'a Rebel, Traitor, and public Enemy to the Com-'monwealth of *England*, and all his Abettors, 'Agents, and Accomplices to be Rebels, Traitors,

'and

'and public Enemies to the Commonwealth of *England*; and do hereby command all Officers, 'Civil and Military, in all Market Towns and 'convenient Places, to cauſe this Declaration to 'be proclaimed and publiſhed.

Inter-regnum, 1651. Auguſt.

H. SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

Aug. 26. This Day the Parliament kept an Humiliation at *Margaret's*, *Weſtminſter*, to ſeek unto the Lord for his Bleſſing upon their Counſels and Forces, and for Succeſs againſt the Enemy now in the Land: This Ceremony being over, the Houſe ordered Thanks to their Preachers on that Occaſion; and then proceeded to read the following Letters from Col. *Okey* and Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, addreſs'd

To the Rt. Hon. JOHN BRADSHAW, *Lord-Preſident of the Council of State at* Whitehall.

My Lord, *Stirling*, *Aug.* 19, 1651.

'I Make bold to trouble you with a few Lines to 'let your Lordſhip know, that after it had 'pleaſed God to give us *Stirling* Town, I with 'Col. *Berry*, and two Troops of Horſe more, and 'two of Dragoons, marched to *Glaſgow* and the 'Weſt Country; being fully informed that ſome 'Lords were returning from the King with full 'Commiſſion to raiſe in thoſe Parts 6000 Horſe 'and Foot, and accordingly had their Commiſſioners ſitting at *Glaſgow* and *Paiſley*, for levying of 'the ſaid Forces, and having already ſome Hundreds liſted about, and drawing what they had 'together to a Rendezvous, we marched with all 'poſſible Speed to prevent them.

Col. *Okey's* Account of the Affairs of *Scotland*.

'And upon the 11th Inſtant ſet forward from 'hence, and marched to *Glaſgow*, *Paiſley*, and *Irwin*, and ſent out Parties all over the Country 'round about; and, through the Goodneſs of God, 'have ſo ſcoured the Country, that we may now 'march with 100 Horſe from this Place all over 'the Weſt and South. We have totally broken

'all

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'all their Levies, and have taken ſome of their 'chief Commiſſioners Priſoners, as the Lord *Or-* 'miſton and ſome others, and returned back to this 'Place with our Horſe Yeſterday, the 18th pre- 'ſent.

'A Party of ours alſo, which I ſent to *Bog-Hall*, 'brought me fourteen Miniſters Priſoners, who 'were all met together in a Barn by a Wood-Side, 'ſix Miles from *Glaſgow*, but were releaſed again, 'being about a Work that I hope will prove ad- 'vantageous to us. It is thus: The General Aſ- 'ſembly having ſilenced many of them, and for- 'bid them to preach both in public and in pri- 'vate, they were there met together to ſeek the 'Lord, whether they ſhould obey or diſobey the 'General Aſſembly's Order. And they aſſured 'us, as in the Preſence of the Lord, that they were 'about no other Work; and that God had ſet it 'upon their Hearts, that it was better to obey God 'than Men, and ſo accounted their General Aſ- 'ſembly a malignant uſurp'd Authority, which 'ought not to be obeyed: And therefore, they being 'ſet at Liberty by us, did on the laſt Lord's Day, 'in *Glaſgow* and other Parts, preach publickly 'againſt that wicked Authority. The Lord hath 'done great Things for us in theſe Parts, whereof 'we have great Cauſe to be glad, and we are con- 'fident alſo he is doing great Things for you in '*England*. I ſhould enlarge, but muſt now 'abruptly break off, the Poſt ſtaying for my Let- 'ters. I forbear to trouble you any further, ſave 'to tell you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's very humble Servant,

JOHN OKEY.

SIR, *Banbury, Aug.* 25, 1651.

More Letters touching the Motions of both Armies in *England*.

'AS for Affairs here, I ſhall preſent you with 'this brief Account: The Enemy, we un- 'derſtand, came into *Worceſter* upon *Friday* laſt 'in

'in the Afternoon; our Men retreated from them 'to *Glouceſter*, which was looked upon as ſeaſon- 'able for that Place, apprehended to be, before 'their coming, in ſome Danger. The *Scots* ſtaid 'not long in the Town, but march'd their Army 'over the *Severn*, leaving a Party behind, who give 'out, that they intend to re-fortify that Place, and 'to that End have ſummoned in the Country to 'repair the Works, and that which is called the '*Royal Fort*. If this be their Buſineſs, I doubt 'not but we ſhall be up with them, before any 'Thing conſiderable can be done; But I be- 'lieve their main Deſign is to ſecure the Paſſes up- 'on the *Severn*, thereby to ſecure themſelves, re- 'freſh their wearied Army, and invite their Friends 'to come in to their Aſſiſtance; which indeed is a 'Mercy not to be ſlighted by us, that though this 'precious Cauſe hath ſo many Enemies, yet ſo few 'adventure to come in unto them. It is thought 'by us that their Army doth not conſiſt of above '12,000 Horſe and Foot effective; and thoſe of 'their Foot very much harraſſed, by often and fre- 'quent marching, inſomuch that they did impor- 'tune their King to take Pity on them; who an- 'ſwered, That they ſhould ſuddenly have Refreſh- 'ment, and gave them good Words, and told them 'what Aſſiſtance he expected from his Friends. 'They have very few of *Engliſh* Horſe amongſt 'them, their Foot Highlanders. I ſee it is not 'good to deſpiſe the meaneſt Creature. It is ſaid 'that Major-General *Maſſey* marches with a Party 'to *Glouceſter*, in hopes that, upon his Approach, 'his old Friends would appear for him.

Inter-regnum 1651. Auguſt.

'My Lord-General came laſt Night to *War-* 'wick, his Foot will be there this Night: We 'ſhall, either this Day or To-morrow, march 'near the Enemy, and not give them the Liberty 'of ranging far; and though their Confidence be 'much in their Paſſes, yet I truſt we ſhall not find 'that Work ſo difficult as it ſeems at a Diſtance 'both to you and us: However, you know hitherto

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Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

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Sir,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

CHA. FLEETWOOD.

Aug. 27. The Houſe received a Letter from Col. *Mackworth*, incloſing a Summons and Letter to him from the King, with his Anſwer: All which were read.

And firſt the Summons, which was addreſs'd thus:

To Col. MACKWORTH, *Governor of* Shrewſbury.

CHARLES *R.*

Col. MACKWORTH,

BEing deſirous to attempt all fair Ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to Force and Extremity; and, where the Controverſy is with Subjects, accounting that a double Victory which is obtained without Effuſion of Blood, and where the Hearts, that of Right belong to us, are gained as well as their Strengths; we do hereby ſummon you to ſurrender forthwith, into our Hands, our Town, with the Caſtle of Shrewſbury, *as in Duty and Allegiance, by the Laws of God and the Land, you are bound to do; thereby not only preventing the Miſchief which you may otherwiſe draw upon yourſelf and that Place, but alſo opening the firſt Door to the Kingdom's Peace and Quietneſs, and the Enjoyment of every one, both King and People, that which pertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the End for which we are come.*

Given at our Camp at *Tong-Norton*, this 20th of *Auguſt*, 1651.

Next

'sent of the Officers, and the Surrender to be by Ten of the Clock next Day. Inter-regnum 1651. August.

'When I sent my Summons to them, they seemed to be so valiant that they wanted Civility to return me an Answer. The Records which were at *Edinburgh* are to be given up to us, which shall be disposed of as your Excellency shall think fit.

'I hope to be on my March towards *Dundee* before this Letter comes to your Hands, to reduce that Town and Castle that commands the River.

Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

GEO. MONCKE.

Aug. 23 [d]. This Day the Parliament received Intelligence from the Majors General *Lambert* and *Harrison*, dated the 22d, That the *Scots* Army lay the Night before at *Tonge*, in *Shropshire*, and that they inclined towards *Worcester*; that Col. *Danvers*, Governor of *Stafford*, with some few Horse, fell in upon some of their Quarters, and killed five of their Men; but gave an Alarm to the whole Army.

By another Letter it was certified that the *Scots* had, of Horse and Foot, 120 Colours; that their Horse were poor and harrassed out; that their Foot were miserably ragged, and sick Creatures a great Number of them; that their King was found, with Cap in Hand, desiring them yet a little longer to stick to him; persuading them that, within two Days March, they should come into a Country where all Things would be plentifully provided for them, and shortly thence to *London:* That the Parliament's Forces were at *Tamworth*, and from thence had sent several Parties to attend the Enemy's Motion; and to dispose their own Marches, in order to a Conjunction with the Lord-General, and the other Forces lately sent from *London*.

[d] There is an *Hiatus* in the printed Journals of this Day, which is supplied from *The Proceedings of Parliament*, N°. 100.

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

ard Duckenfield, Governor of *Cheſter*; adviſing, That ſome Parties from thence having taken ſeveral of the *Scots* Army Priſoners; a Letter from the King to Major-General *Maſſey* (who was employed to ſolicit Aſſiſtance from the Miniſters in *Lancaſhire*) was found upon one of thoſe that were mortally wounded; and that *Lambert* had ſent a Copy thereof to *Cromwell*.

The King's Letter was *in hæc Verba:*

From *Stoke*, three Miles from *Nantwich*, *Aug.* 18, late.

Major-Gen. MASSEY,

I Am informed that, by ſome Miſtake, a Clauſe is added to the Letter from the Preſbytery of the Army to the Miniſters of Lancaſhire, *which may be very dangerous, by breeding Diviſion amongſt thoſe that would own me: For I hear they do add to the Letter a Deſire that Conſideration be taken of Men's former Malignancy.*

How dangerous this may be, and how inconſiſtent with a former Expreſſion of the Letter of the Kirk of Scotland, *owning this Army, I leave you to judge: Therefore I would have you burn the Letter, and then I am ſure it is loſt, and can do no Hurt.*

Haſte you to the Army, where you will be of very great Uſe the Way we are to march. I am

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

Next a Copy of a Letter from Col. *Moncke*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read:

Stirling, Aug. 14, 1651.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

'THIS Day, very early in the Morning, our 'Guns began to play, and before Six at 'Night the Enemy in the Caſtle craved Leave to 'capitulate, which was agreed unto by the Con-

'ſent

'to which he returned a verbal Anſwer, That he 'would keep the Caſtle as long as he could. The 'Lieutenant-General alſo ſent about Exchange of 'Priſoners for ſome of ours he had in the Caſtle; 'but it ſeems he would exchange none, in hopes 'to make Terms by them. Col. *Pinchbeck*, an '*Engliſhman*, and one of the Colonels that Col. '*Blake* gave a Paſs to come from *Scilly* into *Scotland*; 'kiſs'd the King's Hand, and went as far as *Glaſ-'gow* with him towards *England*; but is come back 'hither, declaring much Diſaffection and Diſſatiſ-'faction at the Enemy's Deſign, and ſays he will 'not join any more with them. Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

'On *Wedneſday* the two Mortar-Pieces were 'planted, and Mr. *Hean* the Engineer, (who was 'ſent for from *St. Johnſtoun* for that Purpoſe) made 'two Shots with each of them for Trial, two of 'which fell and brake in the Midſt of the Caſtle.

'On *Thurſday* the 14th both Guns and Mortar-'Pieces play'd hard againſt the Caſtle; we made 'two of their Guns unſerviceable; they hurt us 'two Gunners with ſmall Shot.

'In the Afternoon, whilſt our Mortar-Pieces 'were playing hard, they in the Caſtle beat a Par-'ley; which being hearkened unto, they ſent out 'a Drummer with a Letter, intimating Deſires 'of a Treaty: The Lieutenant-General ſent in a 'Letter, wherein he took Notice of the Governor's 'ſlighting his firſt Summons, but propoſed three 'Articles to him, which he would grant if they 'would render forthwith, otherwiſe he would not 'accept of any Treaty. Hereupon, about half an 'Hour after, the Governor ſent out Capt. *James* '*Cunningham* and one Mr. *Wright*, as Commiſ-'miſſioners to treat; but the Records of *Scotland*, 'which the Governor deſired might be conveyed 'to ſome other Garriſon of theirs, being denied 'them, Mr. *Wright* ſaid his Commiſſion was blown 'up, and would not treat; however that Night 'the Articles were all agreed on, and Hoſtages 'ſent forth.

'The

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

Aug. 25. A Letter from the Mayor and City of *Glouceſter*, to the Speaker, was read.

SIR, *Aug.* 23, 1651.

'THE Enemy came to *Worceſter* Yeſterday, 'where, there being ſome Foot of the Coun-'try, and ſome Horſe, they made a gallant Reſiſt-'ance, and ſeveral Times beat them back: But per-'ceiving that, thro' the Treachery of ſome in the 'Town, the Townſmen had laid down their Arms, 'and ſome of them ſhot out of the Windows on 'our Men, while they were fighting for them, our 'Forces removed the Magazine, and withdrew 'their Horſe and Foot, while 30 Men only reſiſted 'the Enemy, and beat them back; at laſt (when 'our Forces were ſecure on their Way to *Glou-'ceſter*) theſe alſo withdrew, and left the Town of '*Worceſter* to the Enemy.

'All our Forces are now ſafe here, at *Glouceſter*, 'which is ſtrongly fortified, and the Citizens unani-'mouſly provided to reſiſt any Attempt that ſhall 'be made on this City.'

This Account gave ſo great Satisfaction to the Houſe, that they ordered a Letter of Thanks to the Mayor and City of *Glouceſter*, for their Fidelity and good Affections to the Parliament.

A Letter ſent from the King to the City of *London*, ordered to be burnt,

The King having ſent a Letter, dated the 16th of this Month, addreſs'd to the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, and Mr. *Whitlocke* having reported from the Council of State, a Proclamation thereupon; after ſome Alterations made by the Houſe, it was ordered to be printed forthwith, and publiſhed the next Day at Noon, with Drum and Trumpet, at the *Exchange* in *London*, and in *Weſtminſter* by the Serjeant at Arms. The Council of State was alſo directed to take Care of the Publication thereof in all other Cities and Towns throughout *England*. And the King's Letter was ordered to be burnt at the *Exchange* in *London*, by the Hands of the common Hangman.

We

We have not been able to meet with a Copy of his Majeſty's Letter; but the Parliament's Proclamation thereupon was *in hæc Verba:*

Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

Aug. 25, 1651.

And a Proclamation iſſued, declaring him a Traitor.

'WHereas divers of the *Scots* Nation, and ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, being lately come out of *Scotland* into *England*, with their Leader *Charles Stuart*, Son to the late Tyrant, do here levy War againſt the Commonwealth, and commit many Outrages, Spoils, and Murders upon the People of this Nation: And the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath cauſed himſelf, by the ſaid Men of *Scotland* and *Engliſh* Fugitives, to be proclaimed King of *England*; and, by Declarations, proſcribing ſome who have performed great and excellent Service to the Public, and offering Indulgences to others, would draw Adherents to him in his wicked and traiterous Practices; particularly by Letters in his Name, directed to the City of *London*, and ſpread abroad by ſome of his clandeſtine Agents, he labours to court them to his Party, by boaſting his own Condition, and by endeavouring to annihilate the Honour and Eſteem of the Parliament and their Forces; who, through God's Mercy, have been ſo often inſtrumental to chaſtiſe him and his Confederates; and will, through God's Bleſſing we truſt, ſtill prove a burthenſome Stone unto them; hoping, it ſeems, in the mean Time, that that famous City, (whoſe Faithfulneſs and eminent Services in behalf of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, are ever to be acknowledged) and that others of this Land and Nation, into whom, by his Cunning and Flatteries, he would thus inſinuate, can forget the horrid and bloody War raiſed by the late Tyrant his Father, and the Devaſtations attending it; and, by his Deluſions and Impoſtures, be perſuaded to betray themſelves and their Liberties again into Vaſſalage and Bondage, which, thro' the Goodneſs of God, at ſo great

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'an Expence of Blood and Treaſure, have been 'vindicated from the Pride and Tyranny of that 'Man and his Father's Houſe:

'Which laborious Fraud and Falſhood of him 'the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath hitherto notwith-'ſtanding, thro' the Favour of God to his People, 'proved of ſmall or no Effect but to aggravate his 'own Guilt, he being a Traitor of a former Date, 'and to render himſelf and his Accomplices more 'and more obnoxious to the Penalties of the Laws 'of *England*, declaring and adjudging that High 'Treaſon, wherein they are ſo deeply and deſpe-'rately involved:

'And whereas, by a late Act and Declaration 'of Parliament, all Perſons have been warned and 'commanded not to give any Countenance or Aſ-'ſiſtance to the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, or his Party; 'but to oppoſe them, and to aſſiſt the Forces of 'this Commonwealth for apprehending of them, 'to which a moſt chearful and general Obedience 'hath been given by the People according to their 'Duty, wherein the Parliament doth humbly ac-'knowledge the Goodneſs of God to this Nation, 'and ſhall not fail to manifeſt their good Accep-'tance of the People's Affections herein:

'All which the Parliament of *England* having 'taken into their ſerious Conſideration, altho' they 'cannot conceive that any true *Engliſhman* can be 'debauched from the Duty and Fidelity which they 'owe to their native Country, upon ſuch deluding 'and falſe Pretences as the Enemy hath uſed, and 'therefore it is not neceſſary to make any further 'Declaration herein; yet, for the more Notoriety 'of the Fact to all Perſons concerned to take 'Knowledge of the ſame, and to avoid all Pretence 'of Ignorance in any touching the Condition of 'this Man and his Followers, have thought fit to 'publiſh and declare the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, to be 'a Rebel, Traitor, and public Enemy to the Com-'monwealth of *England*, and all his Abettors, 'Agents, and Accomplices to be Rebels, Traitors,

'and

'and public Enemies to the Commonwealth of *England*; and do hereby command all Officers, 'Civil and Military, in all Market Towns and 'convenient Places, to cauſe this Declaration to 'be proclaimed and publiſhed.

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H. SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

Aug. 26. This Day the Parliament kept an Humiliation at *Margaret*'s, *Weſtminſter*, to ſeek unto the Lord for his Bleſſing upon their Counſels and Forces, and for Succeſs againſt the Enemy now in the Land: This Ceremony being over, the Houſe ordered Thanks to their Preachers on that Occaſion; and then proceeded to read the following Letters from Col. *Okey* and Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, addreſs'd

To the Rt. Hon. JOHN BRADSHAW, *Lord-Preſident of the Council of State at* Whitehall.

My Lord, *Stirling*, *Aug.* 19, 1651.

'I Make bold to trouble you with a few Lines to 'let your Lordſhip know, that after it had 'pleaſed God to give us *Stirling* Town, I with 'Col. *Berry*, and two Troops of Horſe more, and 'two of Dragoons, marched to *Glaſgow* and the 'Weſt Country; being fully informed that ſome 'Lords were returning from the King with full 'Commiſſion to raiſe in thoſe Parts 6000 Horſe 'and Foot, and accordingly had their Commiſſioners ſitting at *Glaſgow* and *Paiſley*, for levying of 'the ſaid Forces, and having already ſome Hundreds liſted about, and drawing what they had 'together to a Rendezvous, we marched with all 'poſſible Speed to prevent them.

Col. *Okey*'s Account of the Affairs of *Scotland*.

'And upon the 11th Inſtant ſet forward from 'hence, and marched to *Glaſgow*, *Paiſley*, and *Irwin*, and ſent out Parties all over the Country 'round about; and, through the Goodneſs of God, 'have ſo ſcoured the Country, that we may now 'march with 100 Horſe from this Place all over 'the Weſt and South. We have totally broken

'all

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

'all their Levies, and have taken ſome of their 'chief Commiſſioners Priſoners, as the Lord *Or-* 'miſton and ſome others, and returned back to this 'Place with our Horſe Yeſterday, the 18th pre- 'ſent.

'A Party of ours alſo, which I ſent to *Bog-Hall*, 'brought me fourteen Miniſters Priſoners, who 'were all met together in a Barn by a Wood-Side, 'ſix Miles from *Glaſgow*, but were releaſed again, 'being about a Work that I hope will prove ad- 'vantageous to us. It is thus: The General Aſ- 'ſembly having ſilenced many of them, and for- 'bid them to preach both in public and in pri- 'vate, they were there met together to ſeek the 'Lord, whether they ſhould obey or diſobey the 'General Aſſembly's Order. And they aſſured 'us, as in the Preſence of the Lord, that they were 'about no other Work; and that God had ſet it 'upon their Hearts, that it was better to obey God 'than Men, and ſo accounted their General Aſ- 'ſembly a malignant uſurp'd Authority, which 'ought not to be obeyed: And therefore, they being 'ſet at Liberty by us, did on the laſt Lord's Day, 'in *Glaſgow* and other Parts, preach publickly 'againſt that wicked Authority. The Lord hath 'done great Things for us in theſe Parts, whereof 'we have great Cauſe to be glad, and we are con- 'fident alſo he is doing great Things for you in '*England*. I ſhould enlarge, but muſt now 'abruptly break off, the Poſt ſtaying for my Let- 'ters. I forbear to trouble you any further, ſave 'to tell you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's very humble Servant,

JOHN OKEY.

SIR, *Banbury, Aug.* 25, 1651.

More Letters touching the Motions of both Armies in *England*.

'AS for Affairs here, I ſhall preſent you with 'this brief Account: The Enemy, we un- 'derſtand, came into *Worceſter* upon *Friday* laſt 'in

'in the Afternoon; our Men retreated from them 'to *Glouceſter*, which was looked upon as ſeaſon- 'able for that Place, apprehended to be, before 'their coming, in ſome Danger. The *Scots* ſtaid 'not long in the Town, but march'd their Army 'over the *Severn*, leaving a Party behind, who give 'out, that they intend to re-fortify that Place, and 'to that End have ſummoned in the Country to 'repair the Works, and that which is called the '*Royal Fort*. If this be their Buſineſs, I doubt 'not but we ſhall be up with them, before any 'Thing conſiderable can be done: But I be- 'lieve their main Deſign is to ſecure the Paſſes up- 'on the *Severn*, thereby to ſecure themſelves, re- 'freſh their wearied Army, and invite their Friends 'to come in to their Aſſiſtance; which indeed is a 'Mercy not to be ſlighted by us, that though this 'precious Cauſe hath ſo many Enemies, yet ſo few 'adventure to come in unto them. It is thought 'by us that their Army doth not conſiſt of above '12,000 Horſe and Foot effective; and thoſe of 'their Foot very much harraſſed, by often and fre- 'quent marching, inſomuch that they did impor- 'tune their King to take Pity on them; who an- 'ſwered, That they ſhould ſuddenly have Refreſh- 'ment, and gave them good Words, and told them 'what Aſſiſtance he expected from his Friends. 'They have very few of *Engliſh* Horſe amongſt 'them, their Foot Highlanders. I ſee it is not 'good to deſpiſe the meaneſt Creature. It is ſaid 'that Major-General *Maſſey* marches with a Party 'to *Glouceſter*, in hopes that, upon his Approach, 'his old Friends would appear for him.

Inter-regnum 1651. August.

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Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

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Sir,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

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And firſt the Summons, which was addreſs'd thus:

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CHARLES *R.*

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Given at our Camp at *Tong-Norton*, this 20th of *Auguſt*, 1651.

Next

Next, the Letter ſent therewith: Inter-regnum, 1651.

Tong-Norton, Aug. 20, 1651. August.

Col. MACKWORTH,

HAving ſent you herewith a Summons to render into my Hands my Town with the Caſtle of Shrewſbury, *I cannot but perſuade myſelf you will do it, when I conſider you a Gentleman of an antient Houſe, and of very differing Principles, as I am informed, from thoſe with whom your Employment ranks you at preſent: If you ſhall peaceably deliver them to me, I will not only pardon you what is paſt, and protect you and yours in your Perſons, and all that belongs to you, but reward ſo eminent and ſeaſonable a Teſtimony of your Loyalty, with future Truſt and Favour; and do leave it to yourſelf to propoſe the Particulars; being, upon that Condition, ready to grant you preſently any Thing you ſhall reaſonably deſire, and to approve myſelf*

Your Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

How much his Majeſty was miſtaken in his Opinion of this Gentleman's good Diſpoſition towards him, appears from the contemptuous Style of his Anſwer, which was not addreſs'd *To the King*, but directed thus:

For the Commander in Chief of the SCOTS *Army.*

SIR, Shrewſbury, Aug. 21, 1651.

'BY your Trumpet I received two Papers, the 'one containing a Propoſition, the other a 'direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town 'and Caſtle of *Shrewſbury*, the Cuſtody whereof 'I have received by Authority of Parliament; and 'if you believe me a Gentleman, as you ſay you 'do, you may believe I will be faithful to my 'Truſt; to a Violation whereof neither Allure-'ments can perſuade me, nor Threatenings of 'Force, eſpecially when but Paper ones, compell 'me. What Principles I am judged to be of I

'know

Inter-regnum. 1651. August.

'know not, but I hope they are ſuch as ſhall ever 'declare me honeſt, and no way differing herein, 'as I know, from thoſe engaged in the ſame Em-'ployment with me; who, ſhould they deſert that 'Cauſe they are embark'd in, reſolve to be found, 'as I am, unremoveably,

The faithful Servant of the

Commonwealth of England,

HUMP. MACKWORTH.

This Behaviour of Col. *Mackworth* was ſo pleaſing to the Houſe, that they order'd the Lord-Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* to draw up a Letter of Thanks to him, to be ſign'd by the Speaker; acknowledging their good Acceptance of his Fidelity: They alſo reſolved that a Gold Chain and Medal of the Parliament, to the Value of 100*l.* be ſent to him as a Mark of their Favour.

The ſame Day a Letter to the Speaker, from Dr. *Clerke*, Advocate to the Court of Admiralty, giving an Account of the Surrender of *Stirling-Caſtle* to the Parliament's Forces, was read.

Mr. Speaker, *Stirling*, *Aug.* 19. 1651.

Account of the Surrender of *Stirling-Caſtle*.

'ON this Day Se'nnight we perfected our Plat-'forms for Batteries, and two Mortar-Pieces 'brought up from *Leith* for the reducing of *Stir-'ling-Caſtle*. The Enemy ſhot thro' and thro' our 'Batteries, but did not hurt any of our Men. 'They play'd hard againſt our Men that were in 'the Steeple of the Town Kirk, which did much 'annoy them; they ſhot through the Steeple, but 'all their Shots hurt but one Man.

'Two Mortar-Pieces were drawn to the Plat-'form this Evening. All Things being in Readi-'neſs to go roundly to work with the Caſtle, the 'Lieutenant-General ſent a Summons in to the 'Governor of the Caſtle, requiring him to deliver 'the ſame to the Uſe of the Parliament of *England*;

'to

'to which he returned a verbal Anſwer, That he 'would keep the Caſtle as long as he could. The 'Lieutenant-General alſo ſent about Exchange of 'Priſoners for ſome of ours he had in the Caſtle; 'but it ſeems he would exchange none, in hopes 'to make Terms by them. Col. *Pinchbeck*, an '*Engliſhman*, and one of the Colonels that Col. '*Blake* gave a Paſs to come from *Scilly* into *Scotland*; 'kiſs'd the King's Hand, and went as far as *Glaſ-'gow* with him towards *England*; but is come back 'hither, declaring much Diſaffection and Diſſatiſ-'faction at the Enemy's Deſign, and ſays he will 'not join any more with them. Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

'On *Wednesday* the two Mortar-Pieces were 'planted, and Mr. *Hean* the Engineer, (who was 'ſent for from *St. Johnſtoun* for that Purpoſe) made 'two Shots with each of them for Trial, two of 'which fell and brake in the Midſt of the Caſtle.

'On *Thurſday* the 14th both Guns and Mortar-'Pieces play'd hard againſt the Caſtle; we made 'two of their Guns unſerviceable; they hurt us 'two Gunners with ſmall Shot.

'In the Afternoon, whilſt our Mortar-Pieces 'were playing hard, they in the Caſtle beat a Par-'ley; which being hearkened unto, they ſent out 'a Drummer with a Letter, intimating Deſires 'of a Treaty: The Lieutenant-General ſent in a 'Letter, wherein he took Notice of the Governor's 'ſlighting his firſt Summons, but propoſed three 'Articles to him, which he would grant if they 'would render forthwith, otherwiſe he would not 'accept of any Treaty. Hereupon, about half an 'Hour after, the Governor ſent out Capt. *James* '*Cunningham* and one Mr. *Wright*, as Commiſ-'miſſioners to treat; but the Records of *Scotland*, 'which the Governor deſired might be conveyed 'to ſome other Garriſon of theirs, being denied 'them, Mr. *Wright* ſaid his Commiſſion was blown 'up, and would not treat; however that Night 'the Articles were all agreed on, and Hoſtages 'ſent forth.

'The

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'The Occaſion of their moſt haſty Surrender, 'was from a Mutiny of the Soldiers in the Caſtle; 'who, being a commanded Party of their Army, 'and moſt Highlanders, not accuſtomed to Gra- 'nadoes, were much affrighted, and beat the Drum 'without Order, threatening to throw over their 'Officers if they ſhould diſturb them; ſaying, '*They would fight for their King and Kingdom, and* '*not for their Country's Geer.*

'The next Day the Governor, with about 300 'Officers and Soldiers, marched forth according 'to Agreement: The Soldiers had the Night be- 'fore broken open many of the Trunks in the 'Caſtle, and went away laden with as much Geer 'as they could carry.

'There were in the Caſtle 40 Pieces of Ord- 'nance, *viz.* 27 very fair Braſs Pieces, two great 'Iron Guns, and 11 Leather Guns; Proviſion of 'Meal to ſerve 500 Men above twelve Months, '40 or 50 Barrels of Beef, about 5000 Arms, (new 'Muſkets and Pikes) 26 Barrels of Powder, 20 or '30 Veſſels of Claret Wine and ſtrong Waters, great 'Store of Match with other Ammunition, Lances, 'Swans Feathers, Darts, and other Inſtruments of 'War of that Nature; all the Records of *Scotland*[e], 'the Chair and Cloth of State, the Sword, and 'other rich Furniture of the King's, the Earl of '*Marr*'s Coronet and Stirrups of Gold, with his 'Parliament-Robes: There was alſo Store of 'Goods of the Country and Town's People in the 'Caſtle, which they had Liberty to carry away ac- 'cording to Articles, and came in great Numbers 'for three or four Days together, little or nothing 'being embezzled, but what hath been taken away 'by their own Men. We had releaſed, a little 'before our Entrance, 32 Priſoners, among whom 'were Mr. *Cornelius van Behmen*, Engineer, Lieu- 'tenant *Jones*, and others taken at *Newark*.

'Thus

[e] Eighty-four Hogſheads of theſe Records were loſt in their Return to *Scotland* by Sea, after the Reſtoration.
Merc. Pub. Anno 1661 p. 52.

'Thus hath God in leſs than a Week's Space, Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt. 'nay, leſs than a Day's Space, (for we did not play 'ſo long with our Guns and Mortar-Pieces) given 'into our Hands one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt 'magnificent Caſtles in *Scotland*, and the moſt, if 'not only, conſiderable Paſs into the Country be-'yond it. When we came before it, a Quære 'was made who ſhould lead us into this ſtrong 'Caſtle? it was anſwered, *The Righteous ſhall 'poſſeſs the Gates of their Enemies*; and certainly 'the Mercy is not the leſs for being gained with ſo 'little Loſs, but the greater; and is a Pledge of 'what he will do for thoſe that are now like to be 'engaged in *England*.

'Since my coming into the Caſtle, which is one 'of the ſtatelieſt and faireſt Buildings I have ſeen 'in *Scotland*, I obſerved this Motto over the Cha-'pel Door, J. 6. R. *Nobis hæc invicta miſerunt 'Centum ſex proavi*, 1617. It ſeems it had paſs'd 'the 107th unconquered, but not the 108th.

'Col. *Okey* is return'd with his Party who went 'into the Weſt: He took the Lord *Ormiſton*, Mr. '*Alexander*, Mr. *Henderſon*, and others, who were 'ſitting at *Paiſley* for the raiſing of a Regiment to 'be under the Command of Col. *Cochran*, whom 'their King had ſent out of *England* for that Pur-'poſe, though he had before promiſed it to Major-'General *Van Roſs*; they were both in the Town 'the Day before, but got away with the Laird of '*Blair*'s Troop into the Highlands.

'We are now preparing for a March with our 'Horſe and Foot towards *Dundee*. When our 'Convoy had brought thoſe that marched out of 'the Caſtle of *Stirling* as far as *St. Johnſtoun*, they 'all went to their ſeveral Homes, except about 140. 'I crave your Pardon for this Boldneſs, and reſt

Your moſt humble Servant,

W. CLERKE.

In conſequence of this Letter the Houſe reſolv'd, That all the Records, with the *Regalia* and *Inſignia*, taken in *Stirling-Caſtle*, be lodg'd in the *Tower*

'of

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of *London*, under the Direction of the Maſter of the Rolls.

Laſtly was read a Letter from Col. *Hewſon*, Governor of *Dublin*, touching the State of Affairs in that Kingdom.

To the Right Honourable the LORD-PRESIDENT *of the Council of State.*

My Lord, *Finagh*, *Aug.* 6, 1651.

Col. *Hewſon's* Account of the State of *Ireland*.

'SINCE my Return from *Stirkloe*, I marched 'to *Athlone*, from whence I ſent 500 Recruits 'to my Lord-Preſident. The Enemy is come to 'this Side of *Gallway*, and endeavoured a Con-'junction of their Forces, to raiſe or diſturb the 'Siege at *Limerick*; and, to that End, *Muſkerry* 'and *Fitz-Patrick* were to join on this Side the 'Shannon and *Dungan*, and *Roche* on *Connaught* 'Side; but the Works before *Gallway* being fi-'niſhed, my Lord-Preſident hath left his Foot in 'Security at the Siege, and he with ſome Horſe 'doth lie in one Place, and a Party from me join-'ing with a Party from my Lord-Deputy, under 'the Command of Sir *Theophilus Jones*, doth lie 'fifteen Miles beyond *Athlone*, whereby they can-'not join. *Muſkerry* was met with by my Lord 'Broghill, and was routed, with the Loſs of 500 'Men upon the Place, and as many wounded. 'Limerick is in great Straits, we hope it will be 'yours ſpeedily; *Gallway* may hold out longer; 'the *Iriſh* increaſe in Numbers, but their Gather-'ings are in order to their breaking in Pieces. '*Fitz-Patrick* is in *King's County* with 2000 Men, 'and *Dominick O'Connor*, *Barth. O'Neale*, and 'Mr. *Longford* with (it is reported) 5000, but I 'ſuppoſe hardly half. *Phelim M'Hugh Riley*, in '*Cavan*, is reported 3000. They ſcuffle apace; '*Fitz-Patrick* hath ſurprized *Melecks* upon the '*Shannon*, the Soldiers being aſleep. Part of *Ri-'ley*'s Men beſieg'd this Place, and ſtorm'd it Ye-'ſterday

'ſterday Morning; but were beaten off with great Loſs: We loſt only four Men. Their Stay here 'was twenty-eight Hours. I find them unwilling 'to fight, though their Numbers be great. I have 'not 1000 Foot, nor 400 Horſe, yet whenſoever 'I purſue them they fly into Places of Security. I 'intended to have attempted *Ballincargé*, but find-'ing the Enemy much over-number me, I think 'it not adviſeable to engage your Guns; but to be 'looſe untill *Limerick* be taken, when I may ex-'pect the *Leinſter* Horſe back again. I came this 'Day to the Relief of this Place, but found the 'Enemy ſcattered; yea, and they ſhall ſcatter, 'tumble, and fall, when the Terrors of the Lord 'do make them afraid. I am,

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My Lord,

Your very faithful Servant,

J. HEWSON.

Aug. 28. A Letter from Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* to the Speaker, intimating the Arrival of the King's Army in and about *Worceſter*, was read.

SIR, *Shepſtone, Aug.* 27, 1651.

'OUR Army is this Day upon their March towards *Eveſham*, and ſo likewiſe are we. 'I ſuppoſe To-morrow we ſhall march up to *Wor-'ceſter*. The Enemy, the laſt *Saturday*, had a Con-'ſultation about fortifying that Place, and were 'very different and uncertain in their Councils 'about it, but were prevailed with by the Mayor, 'Sheriff, and ſome of the Aldermen, to fortify that 'Place, which now they are very buſy a doing.

The *Engliſh* and *Scots* Armies draw near each other about *Worceſter*.

'This Day they have a Faſt, To-morrow a 'general Rendezvous of their Army and the Coun-'try a Mile on this Side *Worceſter*; but I ſuppoſe 'we ſhall ſpoil that Deſign. It is ſuppoſed that, 'upon our Approach to *Worceſter*, they will quit 'that Place, but it may be their Hearts are har-'dened to ſtay to their own Deſtruction: This

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'will prevail much with them to ſtay, that their 'Reputation, which they have ſeemingly got, will 'be otherwiſe loſt, they having perſuaded the 'People that there is no ſuch Man alive as my 'Lord-General *Cromwell*, and that we have no 'Army left: Upon this Account they have had 'more Additions of Men in *Worceſterſhire* than in 'all *England* beſides, yet I doubt not but we ſhall 'have that Appearance from the Lord with us, that 'it will be manifeſted to the World, that the righ-'teous Cauſe we are engaged in is his. I am per-'ſuaded we are near a very ſignal Mercy; the Lord 'keep us humble and believing, and fit both you 'who are our Governors, and ourſelves, for what 'we ſhall receive.

'The Enemy are likewiſe fortifying *Maxfield-'Houſe*, near *Worceſter*. Mr. *Moore*, and ſome 'other well-affected Perſons of *Worceſter*, came to 'us this Morning. You will have a more full 'Account how they were betrayed at *Worceſter*. 'I am,

My Lord,

Your moſt humble and faithful Servant,

C. FLEETWOOD.

Aug. 29. A Letter from Colonel *Birch* to the Speaker, with Advice of the Earl of *Derby*'s being routed in *Lancaſhire*, was read as follows:

SIR, *Liverpool, Aug.* 26, 1651.

A Relation of the Earl of *Derby*'s Defeat in *Lancaſhire*.

'IT pleaſed the Lord, Yeſterday, to give an ut-'ter Overthrow, by Col. *Lilburne*'s Regiment 'of Horſe, to the Earl of *Derby*, who was raiſing 'Men here in this County for the *Scots* King. The 'Earl, at his coming over from the Iſle of *Man*, 'brought but 300 Men, whereof 60 were Horſe; 'but landing about the Middle of the Shire, when 'the *Scots* Army were paſſing out of it, he had 'the better Opportunity, by our Diſtractions, to 'march up to *Warrington* to them; and there he 'had the Aſſiſtance of Major-General *Maſſey*, with

'a

'a Regiment of Horſe, to countenance his Pro- Inter-regnum.
'ceedings while he gathered more to him, who 1651.
'afterwards left him when the Earl's Forces were Auguſt.
'reputed conſiderable enough to carry on the
'Work: And there being none in this County left
'competent to make Oppoſition, but all marched
'out with the Army, I ſent both to my Lord-Ge-
'neral and the Majors General to acquaint them
'with it, whereupon Col. *Lilburne* came very op-
'portunely; yet the Enemy being ſtronger in Foot,
'and ſecuring himſelf betwixt two Rivers, he was
'not to be attempted by Horſe only; and all that
'could be afforded in Aſſiſtance were two Foot
'Companies from *Cheſter*, (one of the Regiments,
'left about *Mancheſter*, not being ſo ready as the
'reſt to march out) and what Muſketeers I horſed
'from hence, with ſome few Countrymen; but
'ſince my Lord-General's own Regiment of Foot
'being ſent up, and within one Day's March, the
'Enemy attempted to join the *Scots* Army; but
'being purſued by Col. *Lilburne*'s Regiment, and
'the ſmall Addition before named, without the
'Conjunction of my Lord-General's Regiment, it
'pleaſed God to give them an abſolute Overthrow.

'The Number of Priſoners and the Slain, with
'their Qualifications, I cannot yet give further
'Account of, but I hope this Succeſs prevents all
'Deſigns in theſe Parts. I muſt beg Excuſe for this
'diſtracted Letter, and ever am,

S I R,

Your moſt real and humble Servant,

THO. BIRCHE.

The next Day came a Letter from Col. *Lilburne* himſelf to the Speaker, containing all the Particulars of the Earl of *Derby*'s Defeat.

Mr. Speaker, *Wigan, Aug.* 25, 1651.

'MY Lord-General being pleaſed to com-
'mand me to ſtay here, to aſſiſt the Well-
'affected againſt the Lord *Derby*, who was then

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'at *Warrington* in this County, with ſome conſi-
'ſiderable Force both from the Iſle of *Man*, and
'which he had from the *Scots* Army; wherewith
'he did not only much encourage the Enemy, but
'alſo diſcourage all the Well-affected in theſe
'Counties of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, and whereof
'he thought himſelf wholly Maſter, as indeed he
'was, (none in thoſe Counties being able or daring
'to appear againſt him) and began to beat Drums
'and raiſe Men in all Places where he came; and
'would have been very ſtrong in a ſhort Time,
'not only thro' the Acceſs of many Malignants,
'Papiſts, and diſaffected Perſons, but that Aſſiſt-
'ance the Miniſters and thoſe who are called Preſ-
'byterians afforded, and would have more abun-
'dantly appeared; for they are the Men who are
'grown here more bitter and envious againſt you
'than others of the old Cavaliers Stamp. The
'Power of the Almighty was very much ſeen in the
'total Overthrow (I hope) of that wicked Deſign
'which was laid and hatched not only here, but
'through the whole North of *England*, who was
'getting into the like Poſture, as you may further
'underſtand by thoſe Papers I have here ſent you.
'But that God, who hath all along appeared with
'us and for us, hath ſhewed himſelf very good and
'powerful in the diſſipating of this Enemy, who
'was, about 14 or 1500 ſtrong; whilſt I had only
'three Companies of Foot, about 50 or 60 Dra-
'goons, and about 30 Horſe from *Liverpool*, with
'my own wearied and ſomewhat ſcattered Regi-
'giment, through our tedious March from *Scot-*
'*land*, and hard Duty we had here.

'Yeſterday Morning (the Enemy having march-
'ed from *Preſton* the Night before about Eleven
'or Twelve o'Clock) we lay within two or
'three Miles of them, where we expected thoſe
'Supplies of Forces which came not; and ſome of
'our Intelligence informing us the Enemy were
'running away towards their Army with what they
'had gotten, we purſued them hither, with ſome
'Confidence that that Intelligence was true; and

'we

'we believed it the rather, because of some Dis- Inter-regnum.
'couragement we put upon them the Day before; 1651.
'but upon our Approach hither we found it other- August.
'wise, for they were bending their Course towards
'*Manchester*, where they had not only very great
'Hopes of surprizing my Lord-General's Regi-
'ment of Foot, but also great Assurance of the As-
'sistance of 500 Men in and about that Town;
'yet, upon the Sight of our near Approach, they
'unexpectedly put themselves into a Posture of
'fighting with us, which then we endeavoured to
'decline, in regard of the great Advantage they
'had by their many Foot, and Hedges, and the
'Danger we apprehended my Lord-General's Re-
'giment of Foot at *Manchester* to be in.

'We were drawing off, thinking to have march-
'ed in the left Flank of them thither, to have
'gained a Conjunction with our Friends, who had
'Orders to march to me that Day towards *Pres-*
'*ton*; and had Thoughts to have met them in the
'Way, having sent several Messengers to let them
'know both the Enemy's and our Motion; but the
'Enemy perceiving us to draw off, quickly advan-
'ced upon us with their Horse and Foot; which
'we perceiving, and that we could not go off safely
'enough, we fell to dispute with them, which
'lasted almost an Hour; our Horse not being able
'to do any Service but in Lanes, and they over-
'powering us much in Foot, made the Business so
'very difficult, that we hardly knew whose the
'Day would be for so long; but therein was the
'Salvation of God the more seen, and the greater
'Opportunity we had to destroy them: I desire that
'he may have the Praise and Glory of that happy
'Success he was pleased to give unto us, his poor
'Creatures.

'Having given you this Narrative in general,
'which I thought it my Duty to do, this inclosed
'List will inform you further of the Particulars.

'The Country now begins to bring in Prisoners,
'and to shew themselves to me, though before but
'a few appeared. The Enemy's Word was *Jesu*,

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'and their Signal White about their Arm; our 'Word was *Providence*, and Signal Green.

'I desire the Lord would teach us to walk in some 'Way answerable to those manifold and gracious 'Dispensations he daily gives us Experience of, 'and manifests his Love unto us in, that his Name 'may be magnified in all we do, in our several 'Places and Stations: This great Mercy to us 'here, I hope, is the Earnest of his further Ten-'derness to the great Concernments of all good 'People in this Nation, which is the hearty Desire 'of

Your faithful and

most humble Servant to my Power,

ROB. LILBURNE.

P. S. 'This Bearer was all the while in the En-'gagement, and is able to give you a further Re-'lation.

'I have not lost an Officer in this Engagement 'but one Corporal, and not above 10 Soldiers slain, 'but very many wounded.

Prisoners taken at Wigan. Colonels, *Throckmorton*, *Legg*, *Robinson*, *Baynes*, *Gerrard*, and the Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonels, *Rigby*, *Baynes*, *Galliard*, and *Constable*; Major *Gower*; four Captains; two Lieutenants; one Quarter-Master; 20 Gentlemen and Reformadoes; 400 private Prisoners; all their Baggage and Sumpters, Arms and Ammunition; the Lord *Derby*'s three Cloaks with Stars, his George, Garter, and other Robes.

Slain, and dead since they were taken. The Lord *Widdrington*; Major-General Sir *Thomas Tildsley*; Colonel *Matthew Boynton*; Majors, *Chester* and *Trollop*; and divers others of Quality, whose Names are not yet brought in, besides 60 private Men.

Inclosed in the foregoing was a Letter from Col. *Lilburne* to the Lord-General *Cromwell*; but as it is much to the same Purpose, we pass it over.

In

In conſequence of all theſe great Succeſſes, the Houſe ordered Thanks to be given to Almighty God, the next Lord's Day; and that the reſpective Miniſters ſhould, at the ſame Time, beg the Divine Bleſſing upon the Parliament's Army now ready to engage with the Enemy; and that the Lord Mayor of *London* do take Care to give them Notice accordingly. Inter-regnum. 1651. Auguſt.

In the Midſt of all this Hurry of Affairs an Act was paſſed for continuing the Aſſeſſment of 120,000 *l. per Menſem*, for three Months longer, from the 29th of *September* enſuing. And a Letter was ordered to be ſent to the Commiſſioners for this Aſſeſſment, to inforce the Collection thereof in the reſpective Counties of this Commonwealth, which was as follows : The Aſſeſſment of 120,000 *l. per Menſem* farther continued.

Gentlemen,

'THE Parliament have, by their Act herewith 'ſent you, continued the Aſſeſſments of '120,000 *l.* a Month for three Months from the '29th of *September* next; and ordered that the ſame 'be at once aſſeſſed, and the Collection thereof ſo diſ-'poſed and effectually proſecuted, that one Moiety, 'at the leaſt, may be paid into the Treaſury, on 'or before the 20th of *October* next; and the other 'Moiety on or before the 1ſt of *December* next. 'And in regard the punctual Obſervance of their 'Order therein, ſo as timely Proviſions may be 'made for the Forces that are now by the *Scots* 'Incurſion drawn together, and ſtraitened in their 'Quarters, and for other emergent Occaſions, is 'of that Importance that the Safety of the whole 'Commonwealth very much depends thereupon, 'they have commanded me to recommend to you, 'who are chiefly concerned, in reſpect of your 'Truſt, in the Management of this Work, the 'Neceſſity for the Improvement of your utmoſt 'Endeavours therein. I ſhall not need to preſs 'you with any Arguments, the public Peace and 'Safety of this Commonwealth being ſo highly 'concerned, and at this Seaſon requiring a more 'than A Letter from the Speaker to inforce the Collection thereof.

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'than ordinary Care and Diligence: Whereof not 'doubting, I reſt

Your loving Friend,

W. LENTHALL.

About this Time the King publiſhed another Declaration, intitled, *His Majeſty's ſecond Declaration*, ſet forth upon his Arrival at *Worceſter:* This was alſo read in the Houſe, and burnt a few Days after by the common Hangman.

An Act for reducing public Intereſt.

The only Act paſſed this Month worth our Notice, beſides thoſe already mentioned, was for the lowering of the Common Intereſt of Money from 8 to 6 *per Cent.* The Preamble to this Act informs us, that the Reaſon for paſſing it was, That Land was lately fallen greatly in its Value.——Probably this was in ſome Meaſure owing to the bringing the Revenues of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Eſtates, to public Sale.

September. This Month begins with a Series of Letters from the Army, communicated to the Houſe by the Council of State, from whence the News of a general Engagement was daily expected. The two following are the moſt material.

A Letter from Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood.*

Upton, Aug. 29, 1651, *Three in the Afternoon.*

My Lord,

Letters intimating an Expectation of a general Engagement.

'YEſterday Major-General *Lambert*, with a 'Regiment of Horſe from us, three Troops 'of Dragoons, and ſome Horſe from the Army, 'marched up to ſee the Paſs here; and finding a ve'ry ſlender Guard upon it, ordered ſome few Dra'goons to poſſeſs the Church that commands the 'Paſs, which they accordingly did without any 'conſiderable Oppoſition.

'Major-General *Maſſey* was here, and com'manded in Chief; he had not above 500 Horſe, 'be-

'beſides ſome few Dragoons, with him; and tho' Inter-regnum.
'the Number of ours were very inconſiderable to 1651.
'*Maſſey*'s, yet the Lord gave them not Hearts to September.
'make any great Reſiſtance, but ran away.

'We kill'd ſome few of their Horſes and Men, '*Maſſey* himſelf wounded in his Hand. This 'Mercy which we have got, without the leaſt Drop 'of Blood, is great; the Lord, I truſt, will direct 'us to a right Improvement thereof. That which 'we thought would have been a Work of much 'Difficulty and Time, in gaining a Paſs, the Lord 'hath been pleaſed to make eaſy: As ſoon as our 'Men had gained the Paſs, Major-General *Lam-*'*bert* ſent to me for ſome Foot to make it good; 'and accordingly I mounted about 300 behind our 'Horſe, and ordered the Foot to march after us 'with what Speed they could, which they did with 'ſo much Chearfulneſs, that they were ſoon after 'us at this Town, where we now are, both Horſe 'and Foot, in Town and Fields.

'We underſtand, by a Priſoner we took this 'Morning, that the *Scots* Army lye encamp'd a Mile 'on this Side *Worceſter*. We expected this Morn-'ing their Advance towards us, and accordingly 'did prepare ourſelves, by the Lord's Bleſſing up-'on our Endeavours, to make our Reſiſtance; but 'they came not near us, only with their Horſe-'Guard four or five Miles off us, which, upon the 'Approach of a Party of ours, they ſent back to '*Worceſter*. We underſtand by the ſame Party, 'that my Lord-General is playing againſt *Wor-*'*ceſter* with his Great Guns.

'It is a Mercy exceedingly to be admired, that 'there is ſo great a Reſtraint upon People's Hearts, 'that few *Engliſh* appear againſt that righteous 'Cauſe we engage in; but the Lord is our Strength, 'and that we may more and more make our whole 'Dependency upon him, is the Prayer of

Your moſt faithful and humble Servant,

CHA. FLEETWOOD.

Another

Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

Another, dated *Glouceſter*, *Auguſt* 30, 1651.

SIR,

'ON *Thurſday* Morning laſt the Lord-General 'Cromwell came before *Worceſter*, having 'about 17,000 Horſe and Foot, with Major-Ge- 'neral *Lambert* and Major-General *Harriſon*. He 'lies at preſent upon the South-Weſt Side of *Wor- 'ceſter*, and is not, as yet, extended to the North 'Side.

'Upon *Thurſday* Night the Enemy ſallied out, 'but were beaten in without Loſs of one Man of 'our Army, only one wounded, three of the Ene- 'my being ſlain, and five Horſes taken.

'Upon *Friday* Night, between One and Two 'o'Clock, the Enemy made a very deſperate Sally 'out of *Sidbury-Gate*, with 1500 Horſe and Foot, 'or thereabouts, with an Intent to ſet upon an 'Houſe wherein our Army had ſet 200 Muſketeers, 'being about a Mile off the City, upon the Road 'towards *Glouceſter*, South-Eaſt of the River; they 'came within leſs than eight Score Yards of the ſaid 'Houſe, but the Officers and Soldiers being ready, 'and the Army having taken the Alarm, prevented 'the Deſign, beat them back into the City, with 'the Loſs of one Man, being a private Soldier.

'And there were found dead this Morning, be- 'ing *Saturday*, of their Men upon the Highway, 'eleven, amongſt whom was an eminent Man, as 'it is thought by his Habit: Three more of the 'Enemy loſt their Way, and came within the Body 'of our Foot, whom they preſently ſlew. The 'Enemy within the City are making their Works 'very ſtrong, and are this Day upon the Mount 'lying near the River, on the South-Eaſt of the 'City.

'Over *Severn*, upon the Weſt Side of the City, 'lies all the Army of the Enemy contracted within 'two Miles of the City, to my beſt Intelligence; 'but all viſible to our Army, except only ſmall 'Parties that are out to fetch in Proviſions; and 'in the Night they ſend into the City 3 or 4000

'of

'of their Horſe, which they conſtantly draw out in the Day. They ſhoot all Day exceſſively at our Horſe and Foot, as if they feared never to want Powder or Bullets. Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

'The Lord *Grey*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and Major-General *Deſborough*, came to *Upton* Bridge upon *Thurſday* Afternoon, got the Paſs, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Upton* Church on the other Side the River, without the Loſs of one Man; kill'd two of the Enemy, kill'd *Maſſey*'s Horſe under him, took his own Servant, who is ſince dead, who confeſſed his Maſter was engaged, and that it was his Maſter's Horſe that lay dead in the Street, and that a Highlander lent him his Horſe to make his Eſcape.

'Our Army at *Upton* Bridge are between 10 and 11,000, at *Worceſter* about 18,000, beſides 3000 that are within one Day's March. All the Commanders in Chief of our Army are in good Health, and very active. *Maſſey* himſelf is wounded in the Right Arm, and ſome ſay in the Thigh too. He was led into *Worceſter* between two on Horſeback on either Side of him; he look'd very pale; ſome ſince report him dead, but that is not believed.'

The Lord-Commiſſioner *Liſle* reported, from the Council of State, a traiterous and ſeditious Paper, intitled, *By the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, a General Summons to the Kingdom to riſe for the King and Laws*; and alſo an Act prohibiting the keeping and publiſhing the ſaid Paper, or any other ſuch traiterous and ſeditious Papers; and requiring all Perſons to bring in the ſame to the Council of State, in order to their being burnt by the common Hangman; which was read a firſt and ſecond Time, and committed. A Summons from the King ordered to be burnt.

But there was no great Occaſion for all this Precaution: For,

On the 5th of this Month, the Houſe receiv'd divers Letters of the Defeat of the *Scots* Army near *Wor-*

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Worceſter, two Days before: That from the Lord-General himſelf will be ſufficient in this Place.

For the Right Hon. WILLIAM LENTHALL, *Eſq*; *Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England.

Near Worceſter, Sept. 3, 1651, *Ten at Night.*

SIR,

Gen. *Cromwell's* Account of his routing the *Scots* Army at *Worceſter:*

'BEing ſo weary, and ſcarce able to write, yet I thought it my Duty to let you know thus much, that upon this Day, being the Third of *September*, (remarkable for a Mercy vouchſafed to your Forces on this Day Twelve-month in *Scotland*) we built a Bridge of Boats over *Severn*, between it and *Tame*, about half a Mile from *Worceſter*, and another over *Tame* within Piſtol-ſhot of our other Bridge: Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* and Major-General *Dean* marched from *Upton*, on the South-Weſt Side of *Severn*, up to *Powick*, a Town which was a Paſs the Enemy kept. We paſſed over ſome Horſe and Foot, and were in Conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from Hedge to Hedge, till we beat him into *Worceſter*: The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other Side the Town, all but what he loſt, and made a very conſiderable Fight with us for Three Hours Space; but in the End we beat him totally, and purſued him up to his Royal Fort, which we took, and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took the Fort we turned his own Guns upon him. The Enemy hath had great Loſs, and certainly is ſcattered and run ſeveral Ways. We are in purſuit of him, and have laid Forces in ſeveral Places, that we hope will gather him up. Indeed this hath been a very glorious Mercy, and as ſtiff a Conteſt for four or five Hours as ever I have ſeen; both your old Forces and thoſe new raiſed, have behaved themſelves with very great Courage, and he that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Al-

mighty

'mighty frame our Hearts to real Thankfulneſs Inter-regnum.
'for this which is alone his own doing. I hope I 1651.
'ſhall, within a Day or two, give you a more per- September.
'fect Account. In the mean Time I hope you will
'pardon,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For this moſt remarkable Inſtance of Succeſs the Parliament ordered a Thankſgiving to Almighty God the next Lord's Day, till another could be appointed, to be obſerved throughout the Nation.

Sept. 6. Major *Cobbet*, who was ſent by the General from *Worceſter*, gave the Houſe a farther Account of the Battle near that City: He alſo produced a Collar of S S, which was the King of *Scots*, and his Garter; which the ſaid Officer took in the King's Quarters at *Worceſter*; and preſented a ſecond Letter from the Lord-General to the Speaker, which was *in hæc Verba:* [e]

SIR, *Worceſter, Sept.* 4, 1651.

'I Am not able yet to give you an exact Ac-
'count of the great Things the Lord hath
'wrought for this Commonwealth, and for his
'People, and yet I am unwilling to be ſilent; but,
'according to my Duty, ſhall repreſent it to you
'as it comes to Hand: This Battle was fought
'with various Succeſs for ſome Hours, but ſtill
'hopeful on your Part; and in the End became an
'abſolute Victory, and ſo full a one as proved
'a total Defeat and Ruin of the Enemy's Army,
'a Poſſeſſion of the Town, (our Men entering at
'the Enemies Heels, and fighting with them in
'the Streets with very great Courage) and of all
'their Baggage and Artillery. What the Slain
'are

[e] This and the foregoing Letter from *Cromwell* are taken from the original Edition, printed by *John Field*, by Order of the Houſe.

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'are I can give you no Account, becauſe we 'have not taken an exact View; but they are very 'many, and muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the Diſ-'pute was long and very near at Hand, and often 'at Puſh of Pike, and from one Defence to an-'other.

'There are about 6 or 7000 Priſoners taken here, 'and many Officers and Noblemen of very great 'Quality; Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Rothes*, 'and divers other Noblemen; I hear the Earl of '*Lauderdale*, many Officers of great Quality, and 'ſome that will be fit Subjects of your Juſtice.

'We have ſent very conſiderable Parties after 'the flying Enemy; I hear they have taken con-'ſiderable Numbers of Priſoners, and are very 'cloſe in the Purſuit: Indeed, I hear, the Coun-'try riſeth upon them every where, and I believe 'the Forces that lye, through Providence, at *Bewd-'ley*, and in *Shropſhire* and *Staffordſhire*, and thoſe 'with Colonel *Lilburn*, were in a Condition, as 'if this had been foreſeen, to intercept what ſhould 'return.

'A more particular Account than this will be 'prepared for you as we are able. I heard they 'had not many more then 1000 Horſe in their 'Body that fled. I believe you have near 4000 'Forces following and interpoſing between them 'and home.

'Their Army was about 16,000 ſtrong, and 'fought ours on *Worceſter* Side of *Severn* almoſt 'with their Whole, whilſt we had engaged half our 'Army on the other Side but with Parties of theirs. 'Indeed it was a ſtiff Buſineſs, yet I do not think 'we have loſt 200 Men. Your new-raiſed Forces 'did perform ſingular good Service, for which 'they deſerve a very high Eſtimation and Acknow-'ledgement, as alſo for their Willingneſs there-'unto, foraſmuch as the ſame hath added ſo much 'to the Reputation of your Affairs; they are all 'diſpatched home again, which, I hope, will be 'much for the Eaſe and Satisfaction of the Coun-'try, which is a great Fruit of theſe Succeſſes.

'The

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'The Dimenſions of this Mercy are above my 'Thoughts, it is, for ought I know, a crowning 'Mercy; ſurely if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall 'have, if this provoke thoſe that are concerned 'in it to Thankfulneſs, and the Parliament to do 'the Will of him who hath done his Will for it 'and for the Nation, whoſe good Pleaſure it is to 'eſtabliſh the Nation and the Change of the Go-'vernment, by making the People ſo willing to 'the Defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the 'Endeavours of your Servants in this late great 'Work. I am bold humbly to beg, that all 'Thoughts may tend to the promoting of his 'Honour, who hath wrought ſo great Salvation; 'and that the Fatneſs of theſe continued Mercies 'may not occaſion Pride and Wantonneſs, as for-'merly the like hath done to a choſen Nation; 'but that the Fear of the Lord, even for his Mer-'cies, may keep an Authority and a People ſo pro-'ſpered and bleſſed, and witneſſed unto, humble 'and faithful; and that Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, 'Mercy and Truth, may flow from you as a 'thankful Return to our gracious God; this ſhall 'be the Prayer of,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and

obedient Servant,

O. CROMWELL.

P. S. 'Your Officers behaved themſelves 'with much Honour in this Service, and the Per-'ſon who is the Bearer hereof was equal in the 'Performance of his Duty to moſt that ſerved you 'that Day.

After reading this Letter the Houſe appointed the ſecond of *October* enſuing to be kept as a Day of Thankſgiving throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and even *Scotland* too. They likewiſe reſolved to dine together, on that Day, after Sermon, at the Banqueting-

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queting-Houſe in *Whitehall*; and the Council of State were ordered to provide a Dinner accordingly[f]. The Houſe went ſtill further in this Thankſgiving than ever they had done before, by ordering in an Act not only to ſet apart the ſaid Day, but alſo to appoint an annual Commemoration of this Victory on the third of *September*, for Time to come. A Deputation, conſiſting of two Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, Mr. *Liſle* and Mr. *Whitlocke*, with the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John* and Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, were appointed to go and compliment the General on this Occaſion; and it was referred to a Committee to conſider of ſomewhat to be done by the Parliament, as a Teſtimony of their thankful Acceptance of the great and faithful Services performed by the Lord-General. In the mean Time, Apartments were ordered to be fitted up for him in *Hampton-Court*; and the Council of State were impower'd to give ſuch reaſonable Gratuities as they ſhould think proper to the Perſons who gave Intelligence to the Parliament's Forces of the Enemy's Tranſactions at *Worceſter*.

For which the Houſe appoint a Day of Thankſgiving,

And ſend a Deputation to compliment him on his great Victory.

Sept. 9. This Day the Commiſſioners appointed to wait upon the General, being ready to ſet out, the Houſe delivered to them the following Inſtructions:

September 9, 1651.

'YOU are, in the Name of the Parliament, to congratulate his Lordſhip's good Recovery of Health, after his dangerous Sickneſs; and to take Notice of his unwearied Labours and Pains in the late Expedition into *Scotland*, for the Service of this Commonwealth; of his Diligence in Proſecution of the Enemy, when he fled into *England*; of the great Hardſhips and Hazards he hath

[f] The Thankſgiving-Day was afterwards poſtponed to the 24th, for which this Reaſon was aſſigned, That otherwiſe there could not be Notice timely enough for all the Three Nations to obſerve it on the ſame Day. The Order for appointing a Dinner for the Parliament was alſo afterwards revoked.—We have frequent Inſtances, about this Time, of Reſolutions paſſed one Month being ſet aſide the next.

'hath expoſed himſelf to, and particularly at the 'late Fight at *Worceſter*; of the prudent and 'faithful managing and conducting throughout this 'great and impartial Affair, which the Lord from 'Heaven hath ſo ſignally bleſs'd, and crowned 'with ſo compleat and glorious an Iſſue. Of all 'which, you are to make known to his Lordſhip, 'the Parliament have thought fit, by you, to cer-'tify their good Acceptance and great Satisfaction 'therein: And for the ſame you are to return, in 'the Name of the Parliament and Commonwealth 'of *England*, their moſt hearty Thanks: As alſo 'to the reſt of the Officers and Soldiers, for their 'great and gallant Services done to this Common-'wealth.

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'You are likewiſe to let his Lordſhip know that 'ſince, by the great Bleſſing of God upon his Lord-'ſhip's and the Army's Endeavours, the Enemy is 'ſo totally defeated, and the State of Affairs, as 'well in *England* as *Scotland*, ſuch, as may very 'well diſpenſe with his Lordſhip's Continuance in 'the Field; they do deſire his Lordſhip, for the 'better Settlement of his Health, to take ſuch Reſt 'and Repoſe as he ſhall find moſt requiſite and 'conducing thereunto: And for that Purpoſe to 'make his Repair to, and Reſidence at or with-'in, ſome few Miles of this Place, whereby al-'ſo the Parliament may have the Aſſiſtance of 'his Preſence, in the great and important Conſul-'tations for the further Settlement of this Com-'monwealth, which they are now upon.'

Mr. *Whitlocke* gives us the following Reſult of this Embaſſy: 'That they met the General near *Ayleſbury*, delivered their Meſſage, and he receiv'd them with all Kindneſs and Reſpect: That he gave each of them a Horſe and two *Scots* Priſoners, as a Token of his thankful Reception of the Parliament's Regard in ſending them to meet and congratulate him.' A *Journaliſt*[g] of theſe Times adds,

[g] *Nouvelles Ordinaires de* Londres, publiſhed, in *French*, by Authority of the Council of State, No. 64.

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adds, 'That *Cromwell* was met, at *Acton*, by the Speaker, the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, many Members of Parliament and the Council of State, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*: That he enter'd the City in a Coach of State, and was receiv'd with all poſſible Acclamations of Joy.' 'All which, ſays Mr. *Ludlow*, tended not a little to heighten the Spirit of this haughty Gentleman.'

Rewards voted, by Parliament, to the Officers of their Army.

The *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had left behind him, under the Command of Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Moncke*, Commiſſary-General *Whalley*, Colonel *Okey*, and Colonel *Alured*, had made great Conqueſts in that Kingdom; whereupon the Houſe, on the 9th of this Month, ordered Lands of Inheritance, to the Value of 1000 *l. per Annum*, to be ſettled on *Lambert*; 500 *l.* on *Moncke* and *Whalley*; 300 *l.* on *Okey*; and 200 *l.* on *Alured*, for their great and eminent Services to the Commonwealth. Some Time after they voted Lands of 1000 *l. per Annum* to Lord *Grey* of *Groby*; 500 *l.* to Commiſſary-General *Reynolds*; 100 *l.* to Major *Cobbet*, who brought up the King's Collar of SS and Garter; and 100 *l.* to Colonel *Joyce*, who ſeiz'd upon his late Majeſty's Perſon at *Holdenby*.

And to ſhew the *Scots* Nation that the *Engliſh* were reſolved to keep what they had conquer'd in that Kingdom, the Houſe ordered a Bill to be brought in, *For aſſerting the Right of* England *to ſo much of* Scotland *as is now under the Power of their Forces, and to ſettle it under the Government of this Commonwealth.*

Sept. 10. The following Proclamation was iſſued out *For the Diſcovery and Apprehending of* Charles Stuart, *and other Traitors, his Adherents, and Abettors.*

A Proclamation of 1000 *l.* Reward for apprehending the King's Perſon.

'WHereas *Charles Stuart*, Son to the late Tyrant, with divers of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Nation, have lately, in a traiterous and hoſtile

'like Manner, with an Army, invaded this Na- Inter-regnum.
'tion; which, by the Bleſſing of God upon the 1651.
'Forces of this Commonwealth, have been defeat- September.
'ed, and many of the chief Actors therein ſlain and
'taken Priſoners; but the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath
'eſcaped:

'For the ſpeedy apprehending of ſuch a mali-
'cious and dangerous Traitor to the Peace of this
'Commonwealth, the Parliament doth ſtrictly
'charge and command all Officers, as well Civil
'as Military, and all other the good People of this
'Nation, that they make diligent Search and In-
'quiry for the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, and his Abet-
'tors and Adherents in this Invaſion, and uſe their
'beſt Endeavours for the Diſcovery and Arreſting
'the Bodies of them and every of them; and, be-
'ing apprehended, to bring, or cauſe to be brought,
'forthwith, and without Delay, in ſafe Cuſtody,
'before the Parliament or Council of State, to be
'proceeded with and ordered as Juſtice ſhall re-
'quire.

'And if any Perſon ſhall, knowingly, conceal
'the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, or any of his Abettors or
'Adherents, or ſhall not reveal the Places of their
'Abode or Being, if it be in their Power ſo to do,
'the Parliament doth declare that they will hold
'them as Partakers and Abettors of their traiter-
'ous wicked Practices and Deſigns.

'And the Parliament doth further publiſh and
'declare, That whoſoever ſhall apprehend the
'Perſon of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, and ſhall bring,
'or cauſe him to be brought, to the Parliament or
'Council of State, ſhall have given and beſtowed
'on him or them, as a Reward for ſuch Service,
'the Sum of 1000 *l.*

'And all Officers, Civil and Military, are re-
'quired to be aiding and aſſiſting unto ſuch Perſon
'and Perſons therein.

Given at Weſtminſter *this* 10*th of* September, 1651.

HENRY SCOBELL, *Cler. Parl.*

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The ſame Day it was referred to the Council of State to conſider of ſuch Priſoners, as well *Engliſh* as *Scots*, as were fit to be made Examples of public Juſtice; and to give ſuch Direction for ſecuring and diſpoſing of the reſt, as might be moſt for the Safety of the Nation. An Act for continuing the High Court of Juſtice to the laſt Day of *December* next, was alſo ordered in immediately.

The Parliament having already rewarded ſome of their Officers in the *Scots* Wars, they now thought proper to regard their Commander in Chief. Accordingly, on the 11th of this Month, they reſolv'd that Lands of Inheritance, to the yearly Value of 4000 *l.* belonging to the State, [beſides 2500 *l. per Ann.* formerly granted] be ſettled upon the Lord-General *Cromwell* and his Heirs, as a Mark of Favour from the Parliament, for his great and eminent Services to the Commonwealth. Likewiſe 2000 *l.* yearly Rent, was ordered to be ſettled on *Henry Ireton*, Eſq; Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, *Cromwell*'s Son-in-Law. Mr. *Ludlow* writes, 'That when the News of this Grant was brought over to *Ireton*, it was ſo unacceptable to him, that he ſaid, 'The Parliament 'had many juſt Debts, which he deſired they 'would pay before they made any ſuch Preſents; 'that he had no Need of their Land, and therefore 'would not have it; and that he ſhould be more 'contented to ſee them doing the Service of the 'Nation, than ſo liberal in diſpoſing of the Public 'Treaſure. [h]

The ſame Day, *Sept.* 11, a Letter from Major-General *Harriſon*, to the Speaker, was read:

SIR, *Preſton, 7th Day of the 7th Month.*

Several Letters relating to the Purſuit of the *Scots* Army after the Battle of *Worceſter*, &c.

'I Make no Queſtion but you have had a large 'Account, from my Lord General, of the Mercy at *Worceſter*, which was very eminent, and as 'a

[h] *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 371.

'a Crown to all the Lord vouchſafed us formerly. 'The Battle being turned by our God, it pleaſed 'his Excellency to appoint me the Purſuit; and 'having a little breathing Time, I judge it my 'Duty to give you the beſt Account I can of the 'Lord's Goodneſs to us therein, which I have 'duly diſpatched to his Excellency by Letter, or 'ſome Officer, as I could for Time. Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

'And I conceive he hath tranſmitted to you all, 'that is yet come to him, conſiderable: And 'therefore I ſhall not trouble you much with the 'Paſſages of the Evening and Night of the third 'Inſtant, and the Day following, wherein were 'taken and ſlain in the Purſuit (and ſo diſperſed 'that the Country might bring them in) at leaſt '2000 Horſe and Foot, according to our beſt Gueſs; 'and amongſt them the Earls of *Derby*, *Cleveland*, '*Lauderdale*, and other conſiderable Officers.

'On the fifth Day of the Month we had Intel-'ligence that the Enemy divided and took three 'Ways, and accordingly I divided the Forces with 'me. Appointing Colonel *Sanders*, with his Re-'giment, to the Purſuit of thoſe that might take 'through *Derbyſhire* and *Yorkſhire*; Colonel *Blun-'del*, and Colonel *Barton*, with 800 Horſe, and 'four or five Troops of Dragoons, to *Mancheſter* 'ward; and fourteen Troops of Horſe to *War-'rington*; and ſo onward on that Hand with whom 'I kept: Giving the Colonels Directions (and 'taking the ſame Courſe alſo myſelf) to keep out 'commanded Parties of the ableſt Horſe cloſe after 'the Enemy, while our Troops follow as they 'can.

'A Party of the Enemy, of about 500, paſſed 'over into *Lancaſhire*, at *Hollin* Ferry near *War-'rington* (the Bridge being kept againſt them) of 'whom we had the Purſuit Yeſterday; and, be-'tween that and *Lancaſter*, took about 300 Horſe, 'and amongſt them the Viſcount *Kenmuir* and his 'Brother, and Colonel *Hume*, with many conſi-'derable Officers.

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'Thoſe that eſcaped of this Party are ſo ſcattered, 'that the Country People will bring them in; I 'having before ſent to the Commiſſioners, that 'the Country People might get together in their 'ſeveral Diviſions and Hundreds, with what Arms 'they had for that Purpoſe.

'Juſt now I am informed of 100 more taken 'near *Bolton* Yeſterday, and 60 rendered them-'ſelves Priſoners to Capt. *Carter* and Capt. *Ella-'ſton*, of my Lord General's Regiment of Foot.

'The greateſt Body that is left of the Enemy, 'being about 1000, I find is turned off ſome Way 'towards *Yorkſhire*; but I hope ſome of the afore-'mentioned Parties will light on them, the Work 'being, through the Lord's Goodneſs to us, ſo well 'over this Way. I am croſſing the Country to '*Skipton*, to fall in with them alſo, to do further 'upon the Remainder of the Enemy, as the Lord 'ſhall give Strength to our Forces, and miniſter 'Opportunity.

'The commanded Party that purſued on this 'Road (drawn out of Colonel *Riche*'s, Colonel '*Lilburne*'s, Colonel *Barton*'s, and my own Re-'giment) having moſt of them reached *Lancaſter* 'the laſt Night, I haſten what may be towards '*Appulby*, that they may join with what freſh Horſe 'the Governor of *Carliſle* can raiſe, and attend 'what Providence may offer; not knowing (tho' 'none of the Enemy be on this Road in their Van) 'but that ſome may dribble down that Way: Gi-'ving them alſo Directions to get up to *Hexham*, 'with what Speed may be, where, poſſibly, they 'may get the Van of the Enemy, and be very 'uſeful to encourage the Country to riſe before 'them.

'They are, undoubtedly, at a great Loſs, and 'we have great Reaſon to hope few or none of 'them will eſcape out of *England*; and, if any do, 'I hope our Friends in *Scotland* (having had time-'ly Notice of this Mercy) will be in a good Rea-'dineſs to receive them.

'The

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'The Lord grant that the Parliament (whom he 'hath thus further honoured, and owned in the 'Eyes of all the World) may improve this Mercy, 'intruſted to their Management, according to 'the Will of God, in eſtabliſhing the Ways of 'Righteouſneſs and Juſtice yet more; relieving of 'the Oppreſſed, and opening a wide Door to the 'publiſhing of the everlaſting Goſpel of our only 'Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, ho-'noured, exalted, and admired by all his People; 'and it will be ſo, through the Spirit that he will 'give them, and all his Enemies ſhall be made 'his Footſtool. I commend you to his free Grace, 'which is exceeding abundant towards his poor 'People; remaining,

Your moſt humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.

Some of the capital Priſoners ordered to be tried.

After reading the foregoing Letter, Mr. *Scott*, from the Council of State, reported to the Houſe the Names of thoſe Perſons they thought proper to be made Examples of Juſtice, which were theſe; *James* Earl of *Derby*, Col. *Edward Maſſey*, Duke of *Hamilton*, *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, Capt. *Benbow*, Sir *Timothy Featherſtonhaugh*, alſo *Thomas Licence* and *James Bridges*, the one Mayor, and the other Sheriff, of *Worceſter*. Theſe were all ordered to be tried by Courts Martial, in different Places.

The State, at this Time, had a Regard, we find, to retrench their great Expences, and eaſe the Public ſomewhat of that monſtrous Tax of 120,000 *l.* a Month. Accordingly they had directed a Liſt of all the Garriſons in *England*, and the ſeveral Forces in the Field, to be laid before them, in order to the diſbanding Part thereof: And this Day the ſame was brought in by the Perſons commiſſioned for that Purpoſe. The Particulars at large are enter'd in the *Journals*, but are too tedious to be recited.

Sept.

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Sept. 12. This Day two Letters to the Speaker were read in the Houſe; the one from Dr. *Clerk*, relating to the Progreſs of the Parliament's Forces in *Scotland*, and the other from Col. *Birche*, in conſequence of the late Defeat at *Worceſter*.

SIR, *Dundee, Sept.* 5, 1651.

'THE Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Forces at *Dundee*, appears yet every Day more conſiderable; I have ſent a Liſt incloſed of ſuch Priſoners of Quality as are yet diſcovered [1], many of them being concealed as private Soldiers.

'There were 1500 upon the Line when we ſtorm'd; and now we come to bury the Dead, which is not yet fully done, we find that there were near 800 kill'd. The Spoil is like to prove very great; were you here you would not know a private Soldier from an Officer, divers of them having got gallant Apparel. Though we are not yet ſettled here, yet this little wee Bit of an Army will not be idle: If you ſend us more Men, and ſome Money too for Encouragement, we doubt not but, thro' God's Aſſiſtance, we ſhall do much more before Winter, and get Footing ſix Score Miles further into the Highlands.

'This Day a ſtrong Party of Horſe was ſent to *Montroſs*, a Port-Town about twenty-four Miles hence, by whom the Lieutenant-General hath ſent a Summons, having Intelligence that the Enemy were preparing to garriſon the Town.

'Some Gentlemen of Quality hereabouts have ſent their Submiſſions to the Power of the Parliament of *England*, and ſeem to be free both as to Contribution and Aſſiſtance; yet we ſhall not truſt them further than we ſee them. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

WILLIAM CLERK.

[1] As the Names of the moſt conſiderable Priſoners are particularized in the ſucceeding *Narrative*, the Liſts of them, mentioned in this and the following Letter, are purpoſely omitted.

SIR,

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SIR, *Newcaſtle*, *Sept.* 9, 1651.

'SEveral Parties of the Enemy's Horſe flying 'this Way upon their Defeat at *Worceſter*, the 'Country generally roſe againſt them, and brought 'them Priſoners to the next Towns.

'And having Notice of many conſiderable Per'ſons taken hereabouts, I came hither Yeſternight; 'and to thoſe brought into *Liverpool* have added, 'in the incloſed Liſt, ſuch as I found there.

'There are ſeveral other Towns, as *Warring'ton*, *Preſton*, and *Wigan*, where Priſoners are; 'and the Account of the Commanders there I 'yet have not; and beſides them, in theſe ſeveral 'Places, there are not leſs than 1000 or 1200 'common Soldiers.

'I think the *Scots* King came this Day with 'Lieutenant-General *Leſley* and Lieutenant-Ge'neral *Middleton*, who were taken on *Blackſtone-'Edge*, in the Moors between *Rochdale* and *Hali'fax*; and we believe that he eſcaped towards '*Yorkſhire*, in ſome Diſguiſe.

'All Search is made for him here, that may be, 'amongſt the Priſoners, but he cannot be heard 'of.

'Sir, I was deſirous to give you this Account, 'which is all your preſent Trouble from

Your moſt obliged and moſt humble Servant,

THO. BIRCHE.

Sept. 16. This Day the Parliament's victorious General, *Cromwell*, appear'd in the Houſe; when the Speaker, in their Name, made an eloquent Oration, as the *Journals* expreſs it, to him; and gave him their hearty Thanks for his great Services to the Commonwealth. And the ſame Day he was moſt ſplendidly entertained at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, by the Lord Mayor.

Upon the Return of the General, we find that the Bill for an equal Repreſentative in Parliament was briſkly revived; for it was, this Day, ordered to

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to be taken into Debate the next Morning, and nothing to intervene.

Accordingly, *Sept.* 17, it was made the Subject almoſt of this whole Day; but nothing further is entered about it, than that it was adjourned to this Day Se'nnight; and then the Report to be made to the Houſe of it, the firſt Buſineſs.

The ſame Day the *Scots* Priſoners were brought to *London*, and march'd thro' the City into *Tothill-Fields*; the Lord *Grandiſon*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Officers of Quality, being diſcovered amongſt them. The Earls of *Cleveland*, *Derby*, and *Lauderdale*, and the Mayor and Sheriff of *Worceſter*, were ordered by the Houſe to a ſpeedy Trial.

The Parliament alſo reſolved to appoint an Humiliation to be kept in the Houſe on the 23d, to ſeek, from Almighty God, Counſel and Aſſiſtance for making a right Improvement of the great Mercies he had ſhewn to this Nation, and doing thoſe Things which might moſt conduce to his Glory, and the Settlement and Good of the Commonwealth.—Which was obſerved on that Day, with the uſual Solemnity.

A Bill ordered in, for fixing a Period to the preſent Parliament and calling another.

The two next Days were almoſt wholly employed in debating the grand Point of a new Repreſentative; on the latter of which the Queſtion being put, That a Bill be brought in for ſetting a Time certain for the Sitting of this Parliament, and for calling a new one, with ſuch fit Rules, Qualifications, Proportions, and other Circumſtances, as this Parliament ſhall think fit, and ſhall be for the Good and Safety of this Commonwealth, the Houſe divided, and the *Yeas* went forth; when the Lord-General and Mr. *Scott*, the Tellers of them, brought in the Numbers 33; Sir *Henry Mildmay* and Sir *James Harrington* for the *Noes*, 26; on which the Bill was ordered in, and a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe.

Sept. 26. This Day an Act *For ſetting apart the 24th of* October, 1651, *for a Day of public Thankſgiving*,

giving, together with a Narrative declaring the Grounds and Reaſons thereof, was read a third Time, paſſed, and ordered to be printed and publiſhed, as follows:

Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

An Act appointing a Thankſgiving Day for the Parliament's great Succeſſes, with a Narrative of the Particulars thereof.

'THE Works of Providence, by which the Lord hath pleaded the Cauſe of this Parliament and Commonwealth in the Sight of the Nations round about, are glorious, and will be ſought out by all thoſe that have Pleaſure in them; and therefore muſt not paſs under the common Title of Events and Chances of War, the Lord having ſo done this marvellous Work for Time and Place, with a Concurrence of all other remarkable Circumſtances, that it ought to be had in everlaſting Remembrance, both by ourſelves, and by the Generations which ſhall be born.

'After the Lord, the great and righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, was pleaſed ſo ſignally to bear Witneſs to the Juſtice and Neceſſity of our Army's marching into *Scotland*, by giving Sentence (when ſolemn Appeals were made unto him by both Parties) on our Side, in that glorious Victory vouchſafed unto our Army, *Sept.* 3, 1650, againſt the *Scots* near *Dunbar*: The ſame Divine Providence led on our Forces there to the gaining of many Towns and Garriſons, *&c.*

'On the 22d of *Auguſt*, about Noon, the Enemy, with 500 Horſe and Dragoons, enter'd *Worceſter*, than which no Place ſeemed more to anſwer all his Ends; it being a City ſeated on the *Severn*, within twelve Miles of five Counties, near unto *Glouceſter*, the Foreſt of *Dean*, and *South-Wales*, where *Maſſey* (who was a little before called off from the Earl of *Derby* to ſerve this Deſign) pretended his greateſt Intereſt to be; and, by gaining that Place, the Enemy well knew he ſhould be Maſter of all the Paſſes upon the *Severn*, from *Shrewſbury* to *Glouceſter*; and (there not being 100 of the Parliament's Forces within twenty Miles of him) he might lie the more ſe-

'cure

Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

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'cure for refreſhing his wearied Men, employ his 'Intereſt to get what additional Strength he could 'from thoſe Parts, or at leaſt make it a Winter 'War; and thereby gain Time for foreign Aſſiſt-'ance, and better Opportunity for his Agents to 'ſtir up Tumults in *England*, and for the raiſing 'a new Army in *Scotland* under the Earl of *Leven*, '(whom he had left General there for that Pur-'poſe) to come alſo into *England*. Our Forces in '*Worceſter* being few, and finding the Place unte-'nable, (though 60 only of them beat the Enemy 'twice out of the Town, and killed and wounded 'ſome of them) withdrew in Safety to *Glouceſter*. 'The General with his Forces (which on the 3d 'of *Auguſt* were at St. *Johnſtoun*, in *Scotland*) up-'on the 28th of the ſame Month, with a continued 'March, except one Day's Reſt, took up his Head 'Quarters within two Miles, on the Eaſt Side, of '*Worceſter*, being from St. *Johnſtoun* about 300 'Miles, the reſt of the Forces which had hitherto 'attended the Enemy being joined with him. The 'Lieutenant-General, with the Forces under him, 'quartered the ſame Day about ſeven Miles from '*Worceſter*, near *Upton* Bridge, of which Paſs the 'Enemy was poſſeſſed; and in *Upton* Town, on 'the other Side the River, was Major-General '*Maſſey*, with 60 Dragoons and 200 Horſe to ſe-'cure it, whilſt a ſmall Party of ours went to view 'the Bridge, without Deſign or Expectation at that 'Time to gain the Paſs; but finding the Bridge 'broken down by the Enemy, (one Piece of Tim-'ber only left, which reached from one Arch to 'another) 20 Dragoons and diſmounted Troopers 'with Carbines, being commanded over to poſſeſs 'the Church near the Bridge, crept over the Piece 'of Timber, and got to the Church; whereupon 'the Enemy took the Alarm, advanced towards 'them, offered them Quarter, and were attempt-'ing to fire the Door; mean while 100 Dragoons 'more came up, and, in like Manner, got over 'and beat off the Enemy, whoſe whole Party was 'now come down upon them; in which Action

'Major-

'Major-General *Maſſey* had his Horſe kill'd under 'him, himſelf received ſeveral Shots, and was 'wounded, and forced to retreat with his Party, in 'Diſorder, towards *Worceſter*. The Lord having 'been pleaſed, thus unexpectedly and happily, to 'give us this Paſs, the Lieutenant-General march-'ed over, and lodg'd Part of his Forces that Night 'at *Upton*. Inter-regnum. 165 September.

'Whilſt the General was on his March from '*Scotland*, he ſent off Col. *Lilburne* with his Re-'giment of Horſe to wait upon the Enemy's Rear; 'who finding the Earl of *Derby* raiſing Forces in '*Lancaſhire*, in his endeavouring to prevent him 'was forced to engage; where the Lord was gra-'ciouſly pleaſed, by that Regiment of Horſe (tho' 'harraſſed by a tedious March from *Scotland*) and 'three Companies of Foot, to defeat the Earl of '*Derby*'s whole Forces, being 1500 Horſe and 'Foot, near *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*; where were 'ſlain Sir *William Widdrington*, Major-General, 'Sir *Thomas Tildſley*, Col. *Boynton*, (ſometime 'Governor of *Scarbrough* for the Parliament, 'which Place he betrayed to the Enemy) and 'Col. *Trollop*; and 400 taken Priſoners, together 'with Sir *William Throckmorton*, Sir *Timothy Fea-'therſtonhaugh*, and ſeveral Colonels and Com-'manders of Quality; the Earl of *Derby*, with 'about 30 Horſe, eſcaping, carried the News of 'his own Defeat to *Worceſter*. In which Mercy 'the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to appear for our 'ſmall Forces, (who were engag'd upon great Diſ-'advantages of Place and Number, beyond their 'Intentions) and that moſt ſeaſonably, in deſtroy-'ing that growing Army, and giving up the ſame, 'as a Pledge of what he would yet do for his 'People.

'Theſe glad Tidings were followed by the News 'from *Scotland* of the Surrender of *Stirling-Caſtle*, 'in which were many Thouſand Arms, 40 Pieces 'of Ordnance, 26 Barrels of Powder, the public 'Records of *Scotland*, the Sword, Cloth, and Chair 'of State.

'Not

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'Not long after this followed the Routing of the 'new Levies of the Enemy in the West of *Scotland*, 'taking the Lord *Ormiston* and other Prisoners; 'the gaining *Anstruther* by Storm, with 15 Ships 'in the Harbour; the surprizing the Earl of *Leven*, 'General of their Forces in *Scotland*; the Earl of '*Crawford* and *Lindsay*, Lieutenant-General; the 'Earl Marshal, with four Lords more, and divers 'Knights, Ministers, and Gentlemen of Quality; 'with the scattering and dispersing 4000, which at 'that Time were rendezvoused at *Ellit* in *Perth*, 'to relieve *Dundee*, then besieged by our Forces; 'the taking many Prisoners at *Dumfries*, and dis-'sipating them, attempting again new Levies there; 'and the gaining *Dundee* itself by Storm, in which 'were 40 Pieces of Ordnance, 600 of the Enemy 'slain, with Major-General *Lumsden*, the Gover-'nor, Col. *Cunningham*, late Governor of *Stirling*, 'and many others of Quality; 400 taken Prisoners; 'great Store of Ships and other Vessels found in 'the Harbour; to which was added the Giving-up 'of St. *Andrew's*, *Montross*, and *Aberdeen*.

'On *Saturday*, *Aug.* 23, the *Scots* King with his 'whole Army marched into *Worcester*, and applied 'himself to the fortifying thereof, and had soon 'made up some Works, and repaired the Royal 'Fort on the East Side of the City, and planted 'Cannon upon it, the General being encamp'd be-'fore the Town.

'On the 3d of *September* (being the self-same 'Day of the Month upon which, a Year before, 'we obtained that memorable Victory at *Dunbar*) 'our Forces at *Upton*, under the Command of 'the Lieutenant-General, in pursuance of former 'Councils, (the Execution whereof Providence had 'delayed till this Day, without any such Pre-deter-'mination on our Part) advanced towards the Ene-'my at *Worcester*; but, by reason of some Hinder-'ances, reached not to *Tame* River (which, lying 'on the West Side of the *Severn*, empties itself 'thereinto about a Mile beneath *Worcester*) till be-'tween Two and Three o'Clock in the Afternoon;

'Boats

'Boats being alſo brought up at the ſame Time, Inter-regnum.
'two Bridges were made over the Rivers. The 1651.
'Enemy, taking no Alarm till the Van of our Forces
'were march'd within Sight of the Town, did now September.
'draw down his Horſe and Foot from his Leaguer
'at St. *John*'s, lining all the Hedges, from their Paſs
'at *Powick* to the River *Severn*, with Muſketeers
'to oppoſe our Advance. The General com-
'manded ſome Forces over the *Severn* towards the
'Enemy, whilſt others were ſent over *Tame* to the
'ſame Ground. The Enemy's Foot, with ſome
'Difficulty, were beaten from the Hedges, which
'they for ſome Time diſputed; and were at length
'driven back to the Body of their Horſe and Foot,
'which was then drawn up in *Wickfield*, near *Pow-*
'*ick* Bridge, being the ſame Field wherein the late
'King firſt engaged the Forces of the Parliament,
'in the ſame Month of *September*, 1642. Our
'Horſe and Foot marched up with great Reſolu-
'tion to the Enemy's Body, and came to Puſh of
'Pike with them; and, through the Goodneſs of
'God, drove back and wholly routed them, kil-
'ling many upon the Place, and purſuing the reſt
'to the Draw-Bridge and Gate of the City.
'Whilſt this was in Action, ſome Horſe and Dra-
'goons, ſent to a Paſs over *Tame*, about two
'Miles above *Powick* Bridge, which the Enemy
'had broken down, gained that Ford; where our
'Horſe paſſed over, and purſued ſuch of the Ene-
'my's Horſe as could not get into the Town, and
'ſecured that Bridge at the Weſt Gate, that none
'might eſcape that Way.

'The greateſt Part of our Army was now drawn
'over to the Weſt of the *Severn*, where it was
'conceived the Streſs of the Battle would be;
'which the Enemy perceiving, and ſuppoſing
'them too far engaged to get back over the Bridge
'of Boats that Night, he poured forth at the ſe-
'veral Gates of the City all his Horſe and Foot,
'upon that Part of our Forces left on the Eaſt
'Side of the River; which being ſeaſonably diſco-
'vered, our General himſelf haſten'd back to that

'Part

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'Part of the Army, which the Enemy preſently 'charged with good Reſolution; yet, thro' the 'good Hand of God upon that Part of the Army, 'after about two Hours ſharp Diſpute, they were 'beaten back into the Town; and our Men paſ- 'ſing by their great Fort and Cannon, enter'd the 'Town with the Enemy, whilſt other of our Forces 'ran up and ſtorm'd the Royal Fort itſelf, and poſ- 'ſeſs'd themſelves of it, turning the Cannon upon 'the Enemy.

'The *Scots* King fled away; and about 3000 'Horſe with ſome Highland Foot, leaving the reſt 'in the Town, fled towards *Bewdley*, whither 'the General ſent the Day before 1000 Horſe 'and Dragoons to ſecure that Paſs, who took more 'Priſoners than themſelves were in Number; and 'many who eſcap'd them and the Horſe ſent in 'their Purſuit, were met with by other of the Ar- 'my and Country Forces, ſo as they were gathered 'up by Hundreds and Fifties, that very few of thoſe 'who fled from *Worceſter* eſcaped.

'Thus was our gracious God pleaſed to appear 'as *The Lord of Hoſts* (which was our Word in 'this and the Battle at *Dunbar*) with and for his 'People, in deſtroying this deſperate and inſolent 'Enemy, and working a glorious Salvation for us. 'Of the Enemy, which were about 1600 Horſe 'and Foot, there were ſlain, in and about *Worceſter* 'and in the Purſuit, about 3000. The Priſoners 'taken in the Town and in their Flight, about '12,000; amongſt whom were the Duke of *Ha- 'milton*; the Earls of *Derby*, *Cleveland*, *Rothes*, and '*Lauderdale*; the Lords, *Kenmuir*, *Montgomery*, '*Paiſley*, *Cranſton*, and *Grandiſon*, with many 'other Perſons of Quality, *&c.*

'The Parliament taking the Premiſes into their 'ſerious Conſideration, and being exceedingly af- 'fected with the glorious Appearances of God for 'them, and for all the good People throughout '*England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, in vouchſafing 'theſe wonderful and unparallel'd Succeſſes and 'Victories to their Armies and Forces (wherein

'the

'the Forwardneſs of the Counties to ſend out their 'reſpective Militias, and the Courage and Reſolu- 'tion of their Soldiers, expreſſed in this Service, 'by owning this Cauſe and preſent Government 'againſt the common Enemy, is a Mercy greatly 'to be acknowledged by us, and receive a laſting 'Memorial) have thought fit to enact and or- 'dain, *&c.* [*in the uſual Form.*] Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

Having thus given all the moſt material Circumſtances of King *Charles* the Second's Attempt to recover the Crown of *England*, and of the utter Defeat of the *Scots* Army, from original Letters and Evidences printed by Authority of Parliament, we ſhall next exhibit a Relation of the late Action at *Worceſter*, as drawn up by an Officer of the Royal Party, who was taken Priſoner [k].

A RELATION *of the Defeat of the* KING's *Forces at* Worceſter, Sep. $\frac{3}{13}$, 1651.

Cheſter, Sep. 17, 1651.

'I Believe you have too ſoon heard of our Miſ- 'fortunes at *Worceſter*, and it is probable there 'are amongſt you ſome that blame our Proceedings 'rather than pity us: But if they knew the State 'of our Maſter's Affairs, when he was in *Scotland* 'and here, they would ſay otherwiſe. 'Tis cer- 'tain *Cromwell* would not fight us in our own 'Country but with great Advantage to himſelf, 'he knowing that our Army lying idle would 'moulder to nothing, as indeed it had, if his Ma- 'jeſty had not brought them away. An Account of the Action at *Worceſter*, by an Officer of the King's Army.

'It conſiſted of 12,000 fighting Men abſolutely 'under the Command of his Majeſty, which be- 'ing march'd into the Heart of the Kingdom, and 'poſſeſs'd of the City of *Worceſter*, might, in Pro- 'bability, have prov'd a notable Step towards the 'reſettling of this Kingdom, had not God deter- 'mined otherwiſe.

'I am

[k] From Dr. *Nalſon*'s MS. *Collections*, Vol. XVI, printed in Dr. *Grey*'s Appendix to his *Examination of Mr.* Neale's 4th Volume of the *Hiſtory of the Puritans*.

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'I am ſure the King omitted nothing that could 'encourage the People to riſe with him, or at 'leaſt to lie neuter: But on the contrary they aroſe '(which had they not done, without doubt we had 'beaten *Cromwell*'s Forces, they being inconſider-'able) violently againſt us, to ſuch Numbers as 'made the Enemy near 40,000. The leaſt any 'of their Officers report them was 36,000, and 'with this Number they came before us at *Wor-'ceſter*, and the City was neither fortified nor vic-'tualled.

'His Majeſty thought he could not, in Honour, 'leave thoſe to be plundered by the Enemy, who 'had ſo willingly received him. During the Ene-'my's lying there, the King was very active, and 'ſent out often ſtrong Parties; but the Enemy 'was ſo watchful, and lay ſo ſtrong, that though 'our Men behav'd couragcouſly, they could get 'no Advantage of them. The Day and Manner 'of our Fight you may gather from their Letters. 'His Majeſty behav'd very gallantly with his own 'Regiment of Horſe and Duke of *Hamilton*'s. He 'broke a Regiment of Foot, and forced back a 'conſiderable Body of their Horſe; but at laſt 'our Horſe, being overpower'd, ran away, though 'the King ſtrove to make them ſtand.

'The King being cloſely purſued, and our Men 'ſtopping the Paſſage, was forced to quit his Horſe, 'and climb up our half-rais'd Mount, and there ſo 'encouraged the Foot, that the Enemy retired 'with Loſs. The King perceiving the Enemy 'too numerous, and our Men worſted, drew them 'within the Walls, where it was long diſputed; 'then the King taking a freſh Horſe, rode to the 'Cavalry, with Intention to rally them, and ſcour 'the Foot from the Walls: But it was in vain; for '*Middleton* was wounded; the chief Horſe Offi-'cers diſmounted, ſlain, or I do not know where; '*David Leſlie* rode up and down as one amazed, 'or ſeeking to fly he knew not whither; for they 'were ſo confuſed that neither Threats nor Intrea-'ties could perſuade them to charge with the King.

'What

'What became of his Majeſty afterwards I Inter regnum.
'know not: God preſerve him, for certainly a 1651.
'more gallant Prince was never born. Towards September.
'the Evening all Things look'd very horrid:
'Alarms in every Part of the City, and a certain Re-
'port that the Enemy had entered one End of the
'Town, and we of the Horſe trampling one upon
'another, much readier to cut one another's
'Throats than defend ourſelves againſt the Ene-
'my. In this Confuſion, at laſt, we got out of
'the Town, and fled as faſt as we could; and in
'the Head of us (as appeared next Morning) were
'our two Lieutenants General.

'We had no Guides, ſo we often loſt our Way,
'yet reach'd *Newport* by the next Morning, 30
'Miles on this Side *Worceſter*, and there thought
'to have refreſh'd ourſelves and march'd for *Scot-*
'*land*: But our Enemies flew faſter than we, and
'there wanted not conſiderable Forces in every
'Place to front us; and we were ſo cloſely pur-
'ſued in the Day by the Army and Garriſon-
'Forces, and in the Night by the Country, that
'from the Time we came out of *Worceſter*, till
'*Friday* in the Evening that I was taken Priſoner,
'ſeven Miles from *Preſton*, I nor my Horſe never
'reſted.

'Our Body conſiſted of 3000. In the Day we
'often faced the Enemy, and beat their little Par-
'ties back to their main Body; but ſtill thoſe of
'us whoſe Horſes tir'd, or were ſhot, were loſt,
'unleſs they could run as faſt as we rode. In the
'Night we kept cloſe together, yet ſome fell aſleep
'on their Horſes; or if their Horſes ſtaid behind,
'we might hear by their Cries what the bloody
'Country People were doing with them.

'On *Thurſday* Night our Lieutenants General,
'*Middleton* and *Leſlie*, left us, or loſt us willingly:
'But as much Haſte as they made, both of them
'are here Priſoners, with Sir *William Fleming*. I
'left the Duke of *Hamilton* Priſoner, at my co-
'ming out of *Worceſter*, being ſhot in the Leg:
'He is ſince dead upon cutting it off. Few or

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'none of the King's Servants are escaped. The 'Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, and Sir *David* 'Cunningham and Mr. *Lane*, are Prisoners here in 'the Castle. Many are Prisoners in private Houses, 'the Church and Castle being full. They carry 'Things so high, that they have even condemn'd 'some Houshold Servants of Noblemen; so that 'what will become of us I know not.'

We shall conclude this important Crisis of *English* History with a Letter from the Marquis of *Ormond* to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, for an Application to the Pope as the last Effort for the King's Restoration; which we give upon the Authority of Mr. *Carte* [m].

A Letter from the Marquis of *Ormond* to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, in consequence of that Defeat.

'IF I could have wrote, and you received, daily 'Dispatches since my coming into this King-'dom, they could not till this Instant have given 'you any Advertisements so certain, or of such 'Importance, as I believe you did expect. Neither, for ought appears to me, could you have 'had Ground, from any Information, to have varied from the Course you have held, to the Approbation of all those from whom you could wish 'or expect it. Yet I have not failed, on my Part, 'to give you those uncertain Notions that came to 'my Hands; however my Endeavours have failed 'of Success, as well in that as in the Assistances I 'knew necessary for you. And though the Conveyance of what I am now to say be almost as 'uncertain as the Subject is certain and sad, yet I 'will do my Part towards your Information, that 'you may do yours for the Safety of yourself, and 'such as have adhered to you.

'It would be too tedious an Aggravation of our 'Misfortune to tell you, with how admirable a 'Wisdom, and with how constant and high a Courage, the King overcame all the Difficulties that 'were in his Way to the Trial, wherein it pleased 'God

[m] It is printed in his Collection of original Letters, &c. found among the Duke of *Ormond*'s Papers, published in 1739, Vol. I. p. 458.

'God to give Succeſs to his Enemies: And how proportionable to thoſe Beginnings he carried himſelf in his long March to *Worceſter*, and in the Conflict there, wherein, the $\frac{3}{4}$ of this Month, his whole Army was routed, but himſelf for that Time eſcaped: And it is more our Prayers and Wiſhes, than Hope grounded on any human Likelihood, that he may be reſerved to be yet the Reſtorer of the antient Government and Freedom of the *Engliſh* Empire and Nation, who are yet unworthy of ſo excellent a Prince. Inter-regnum. 1651. September.

'Whilſt others entertain you with more Particulars of this great Blow, I cannot forbear to acquaint you with thoſe Circumſtances, that to me make it appear more deſpairingly, and concluſive to all our Hopes, than perhaps it is apprehended by ſome. Be pleaſed to conſider, when it may again be reaſonably hoped to have a King of *England* at the Head of 20,000 of his own Subjects in the Heart of *England*, and to have the Rebels at the ſame Time employed with two other Armies, the one in *Ireland*, the other in *Scotland*; whether ever ſuch as have profeſſed themſelves ready to riſe upon a much weaker Countenance, and have failed upon this, will be relied on by any Foreigner; or when it can be hoped, that foreign Princes will be ſo much at one amongſt themſelves, and ſo generous as to aſſiſt our King with ſuch an Army: And if they were, will they not find the Rebels much more ſtrong by the Conqueſt of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and much more experienced in the Ways of Rule and Government? And will not the Exceptions taken at the King's coming with a *Scottiſh* Power be more obviouſly taken up againſt any Foreigner, of what Nation or Religion ſoever, by thoſe that are weary of Hazards, and indulgent to their Eaſe, Pleaſure, and Profits? More of theſe Queſtions might be aſk'd than I take Pleaſure to find out: And that it may appear I ſeek not theſe to juſtify any ſlackening of my Duty to my King, but to be clear in the Diſcharge of my Thoughts to you,

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'for whom I have an inſeparable Friendſhip, I will 'give you my Conceptions of the remaining Way 'to be taken by the King.

'It is clear to me, that there is neither Power 'nor Affection ſtrong enough in any of his own 'Subjects, (at leaſt both cannot be found in any) 'excluding the Rebels Party, to raiſe his Cauſe to 'a Poſſibility of being diſputed; it muſt follow, 'that foreign Aſſiſtance muſt be ſought, or elſe the 'Cauſe for the preſent deſerted, and the Rebels left 'at Reſt; from which it may be expected Emula- 'tions and Ambitions will ariſe, from thence Di- 'viſions, and out of them an Occaſion of ſetting 'the Intereſt of the Crown on Foot again. This 'I take to be a remote, lazy Speculation, and 'very near lying in the Dirt, and crying *God help*. 'God often bleſſes very improbable Endeavours, 'but I find not where he promiſes, or when he 'hath given, Succeſs to flat Idleneſs, unleſs Con- 'tempt or Miſery, which are the proper Fruits of 'it, may be ſo call'd. I am therefore clear, that 'foreign Help is immediately, and thus, to be 'ſought.

'All the Princes and States of *Chriſtendom* are 'at this Inſtant full of their own Projects, either to 'enlarge or preſerve their Dominions; and I can- 'not think of any one that is in Plenty. To make 'Application to them by ſeveral Miniſters will be 'certainly tedious and fruitleſs; and if it were poſ- 'ſible for the King to find Means to ſend ſo many, '(as I ſee not whence he will have it) they will be 'looked upon as ſo many Beggars ſent for Gather- 'ings; and at the laſt, as ſuch, will be ſent away 'with pitiful Alms, which will be conſumed in the 'Voyages. Therefore to come ſhortly to what I 'would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I 'conceive ſome one muſt be found that hath Power, 'if not with all, yet with moſt Chriſtian Princes 'and States. Among the Proteſtants there is none 'ſuch, and among the Roman Catholics it is viſible 'the Pope has moſt of Authority and Perſua- 'ſion: And it ſhall be without Scruple my Ad-

'vice

'vice, and that ſpeedily, that fitting Miniſters 'may be ſent, and apt Inducements propoſed to 'him for his Interpoſition, not only with all Princes 'and States ——— Inter-regnum, 1651. September.

The learned Editor gives no Reaſon for breaking off ſo abruptly. Whether therefore he had no more of this Letter than what he has printed, or was really poſſeſs'd of the whole, but choſe to give no more of it, we know not. If the former was the Caſe, he ought to have ſaid ſo. If the latter, and his Deſign was to ſink the Marquis's Advice as to the Means propoſed for the King's Reſtoration, he has gone too far; ſince this Fragment only is more than enough to convince any Reader of the Reality of an intended Application to the Pope. It is very ſtrange that this is the only Letter in which we find ſuch an *Hiatus*; and it is not leſs remarkable that tho' Mr. *Carte* has digeſted the Marquis's Letters, *&c.* under their proper Series of Time, and this before us was manifeſtly wrote in *September*, yet it is placed among the Papers of *May* foregoing; whether by Accident or Deſign we pretend not to determine.

The Marquis's Advice for courting the Aſſiſtance of the Pope in this ſhatter'd State of the Royal Cauſe, a Period when no human Foreſight could point out any other Way, was certainly the Reſult of a deſperate Mind, unwilling to lie idle (as he calls it) in his Maſter's Cauſe; and is ſomething ſimilar to a Paſſage in a Letter from Lord *Byron* at *Cheſter*, *January* 30, 1643, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, wherein he writes thus, 'Since the Re-'bels [*meaning the Parliament*] have call'd in the '*Scots*, I know no Reaſon why the King ſhould 'make any Scruple of calling in the *Iriſh*, or the '*Turks*, if they will ſerve him.' [m]—It ſeems as if both theſe Lords had this Line of the Poet in their Mind when they were writing,

Flectere ſi nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.

Thus

[m] Printed at large in Mr. *Carte*'s Collections, before cited, p. 39.

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Thus much by way of Digreſſion.——We now return to the more immediate Affairs of Parliament.

October 1. The grand Queſtion of fixing a Time for putting an End to the preſent Parliament being carried in the Affirmative, as before-mentioned, the Bill was ordered to be brought in that Day Se'nnight, and the Committee to ſit thereupon every Afternoon at Two o'Clock. Accordingly,

Oct. 8. The Bill was reported to the Houſe, read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading on the 10th, when it was committed to a Grand Committee of the whole Houſe; to ſit *de Die in Diem*, with ſome Intermiſſions, for a Fortnight, on this important Affair.

By a Letter from *Cheſter*, the Parliament was informed that the Court-Martial there had tried and condemned to Death, *James* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Timothy Featherſtonhaugh*, and Capt. *John Benbow*, the firſt of this Month. And, on the 14th, the Houſe received a Letter, by the Speaker, from the Earl; which being put to the Queſtion, to read it or not, was carried in the Affirmative by 22 againſt 16. So the Letter, with a Petition incloſed, intitled, *The humble Petition of* James *Earl of* Derby, were both read; but nothing is entered further about them in the *Journals*. However, an Authority before cited informs us [n], 'That the Earl offered to give up the Iſle of *Man*, and ſend the neceſſary Orders to his Lady and the Governor for that Purpoſe, on Condition of obtaining his Pardon; and that the Petition was preſented by his Son Lord *Strange*.' But the Parliament paid no Regard to this Propoſal; for he was beheaded the next Day at *Bolton*, in *Lancaſhire*; as was Sir *Timothy Featherſtonhaugh*, at *Cheſter*. Capt. *John Benbow* was alſo ſhot at *Shrewſbury*. Moſt of the common Soldiers were ſent to the *Engliſh* Plantations;

The Earl of *Derby* and others executed.

[n] *Nouvelles Ordinaires de* Londres, N°. 64.

tions; and 1500 of them were granted to the *Guiney* Merchants, and ſent to work in the Gold Mines there. Inter-regnum. 1651. October.

It may be remembered that Mr. *Love*, a Preſbyterian Miniſter, had been beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*, about three Months before, for High Treaſon, in holding Correſpondence with the King. Several Miniſters and others being alſo at this Time under Proſecution before the High Court of Juſtice, for the ſame Offence, Petitions were preſented to the Houſe in their Favour: That from Mr. *Jenkin* (who had already ſuffer'd for his Non-compliance with the Orders of the preſent Government *; and, by way of Atonement for his former Conduct, thought proper to acknowledge the Eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth Government to be *Jure Divino*) is too intereſting to be omitted. We ſhall therefore give it at large, as printed by Order of the Houſe.

To the Supreme Authority, the PARLIAMENT *of the* COMMONWEALTH *of* England,

The HUMBLE PETITION *of* WILLIAM JENKIN, *Priſoner*,

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

A Petition to the Houſe from Mr. *Jenkin*, for a Pardon;

'THAT your Petitioner is unfeignedly ſorrowful for all his late Miſcarriages, whether teſtified againſt him or acknowledged by him, and for the great and ſinful Unſuitableneſs of them to his Calling and Condition.

'That upon earneſt ſeeking of God, and diligent inquiring into his Will, your Petitioner is convinced, that the Alteration of Civil Governments are ordered by, and founded upon, the wiſe and righteous Providences of God, who removeth Kings and ſetteth up Kings, ruleth in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth them to whomſoever he will:

'That

* In our Nineteenth Volume, p. 296.

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'That the Providences of this God have, in the 'Judgment of your Petitioner, as evidently ap- 'peared in the removing of others from, and the 'inveſting your Honours with, the Government of 'this Nation, as ever they appeared in the taking 'away, or beſtowing of, any Government in any 'Hiſtory of any Age of the World:

'That he apprehends that a Refuſal to be ſub- 'ject to this preſent Authority, under the Pretence 'of upholding the Title of any one upon Earth, is 'a Refuſal to acquieſce in the wiſe and righteous 'Pleaſure of God; ſuch an Oppoſing of the Go- 'vernment ſet up by the Sovereign Lord of Hea- 'ven and Earth, as none can have Peace, either in 'acting in, or ſuffering for; and that your Peti- 'tioner looks upon it as his Duty to yield to this 'Authority all active and chearful Obedience in 'the Lord, even for Conſcience Sake; to promiſe '(he being required) Truth and Fidelity to it, and 'to hold forth the Grounds of his ſo doing to any, 'as God ſhall call him thereunto.

'That though an Impriſonment, accompanied 'with the Loſs of Eſtate, and to be followed, with- 'out your gracious Prevention, with a ſpeedy Ar- 'raignment before an high and eminent Judica- 'tory, are far from being pleaſing to Fleſh and 'Blood; and though the Enjoyment of your Grace 'and Favour be a Bleſſing moſt deſerving to be 'reckoned amongſt the beſt of Temporals, yet 'that neither the feeling and fearing of the former, 'nor the Expectation of the latter, could have in- 'duced your Petitioner againſt the Light of his own 'Judgment, and the prepondering Part of his own 'Conſcience, to have made or preſented this Ac- 'knowledgment; he ſadly forecaſting, that a whole 'Skin is but a contemptible Recompence for a 'wounded Conſcience.

'That nevertheleſs, he truſteth, he ſhall be ex- 'cuſeable in tendering, thus far, even his outward 'Condition, as to repreſent to your Honours, that 'he is in moſt apparent Danger of his irreparable 'Loſs of his Health, the ſweeteſt of outw[illegible] Bleſ-

[illegible]ngs,

'ſings, unleſs, by your gracious Grant, he may 'ſpeedily enjoy a more free and open Air than this 'his cloſe Confinement will allow him. Inter-regnum. 1651. October.

'And this Chriſtian Favour, which even for '*Chriſt*'s Sake your poor Petitioner moſt humbly 'begs, your Honours are as able to enlarge, even 'to a Pardoning of his Offences, and a perfect re-'leaſing of him from his Impriſonment, as he is 'ſubmiſſively forward in deſiring them, though 'confeſſedly far from deſerving them.

'He nevertheleſs promiſing, that your compaſ-'ſionate affording hereof ſhall be a ſtrong and 'ſtanding Engagement upon him; daily beſeeching 'the Heart-making and Heart-changing God, that 'all thoſe who, either through former Accuſtom-'edneſs or preſent Inadvertency, do not clearly 'diſcern the Mind of God concerning the Altera-'tion of this Government, may (by obſerving your 'prime and pious Induſtry to advance, through-'out this Commonwealth, the Power of Godli-'neſs, a Scripture Reformation, and the Truth as 'it is in *Jeſus*) be won to a Yielding to your Ho-'nours conſcionable Obedience; and not only in 'Word, but in Heart and Life, may be true and 'faithful to this preſent Government.

WILL. JENKIN.

The Parliament was ſo greatly pleaſed with this high-flown Compliment from one who had hitherto bid Defiance to their Authority, that they reſolved that he and all the other Petitioners ſhould be pardoned both for Life and Eſtate, in reſpect of their Treaſons and other Crimes, and alſo diſcharged from Impriſonment and Sequeſtration. Which is granted to him and other Priſoners.

The Houſe continued to proceed almoſt every Day this Month on the Bill for diſſolving the preſent Parliament; but nothing was yet reported from the Committee about it. And the only Law made worth our Notice, was intitled, *An Act for Increaſe of Shipping, and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation.* The Riſe and Occaſion of this Act has been already mentioned.—As it is in itſelf very

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very intereſting, and the Paſſing thereof was the Foundation of the Grand Quarrel that ſoon after enſued between the Republics of *England* and *Holland*, we ſhall give an Abſtract of every Clauſe of it. The Preamble ſets forth, 'That the Increaſe of Shipping, and the Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, is, under the good Providence and Protection of God, a great Means of the Welfare and Safety of this Commonwealth: And therefore the Parliament enacted, That no Goods ſhould be imported from *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America*, but in *Engliſh* Ships, under the Penalty of Forfeiture of the ſaid Goods and Ship; one Moiety thereof to the Uſe of the Commonwealth, and the other to the Proſecutor; nor from any Part of *Europe*, except in ſuch Veſſels as belong to the People of that Country of which the Goods are the Growth or Manufacture, under the like Penalty: That no Goods of foreign Growth or Manufacture ſhould be imported, but from the Ports where ſuch Goods could only be, or uſually had been, firſt ſhipp'd for Tranſportation, under the like Penalty: That no Salt-Fiſh, Whale-Fins, or Oil ſhould be imported, but what were caught or made by the People of *England*; nor no Salt-Fiſh to be exported, or carried from one Port to another in this Nation, but in *Engliſh* Veſſels, under the like Penalty: But Commodities from the *Levant* Seas, the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Ports of *Spain* or *Portugal*, might be imported from the uſual Ports or Places of trading uſed heretofore, though the ſaid Commodities were not the very Growth of the ſaid Places.' This Act did not extend to Bullion or Prize Goods, nor to Silk or Silk Wares brought by Land from *Italy* to *Oſtend*, *Amſterdam*, *&c.* provided they were brought from thoſe Ports in *Engliſh* Veſſels.

An Act paſs'd for Encouragement of Navigation.

Before we conclude the Tranſactions of this Month we ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding the Proclamation of 1000*l.* Reward lately iſſued, for Apprehending of the King's Perſon, and the indefatigable Pains taken to diſcover him, he evaded

evaded all his Purſuers, found Means to hire a Veſſel on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, and landed at *Havre-de-Grace*. On the 28th of this Month an Extract of two Letters from *Paris* were publiſh'd, (licens'd by the Clerk of the Parliament) ſetting forth, 'That on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{9}$ the *Scots* King arrived there, and was met by the Duke of *Orleans* not far from that City, who had the Day before ſent ſome Coaches for him to *Maguy*, where he lay that Night: That his Highneſs conducted him to the *Louvre*, where the late Queen, his Mother, repaired preſently after from *Chaliot*, where ſhe had been erecting a Nunnery: That the King gave the Company a full Narrative of all the Particulars of what happened at the Fight at *Worceſter*, threw out ſome reproachful Words againſt the *Scots*, put ſome ſcurrilous Language on the Preſbyterian Party in *England*, and boaſted much of his own Valour: That he told them how he ſlipt out of *Worceſter*, and how near he was of being taken there; firſt in the Fort, and after in his Chamber: How he diſguiſed himſelf, and went from County to County, and what Shift he made for Victuals and Lodging; ſometimes being driven to beg a Piece of Bread and Meat, and ride with Bread in one Hand and Meat in the other; and ſometimes ſetting a Guard about a little Cottage while he reſted there untill the Morning: As alſo his being in *London*, and the Manner of his paſſing diſguiſed through ſeveral Counties in *England*, till he made his Eſcape: The Relation whereof produced ſome Laughter, at the Ridiculouſneſs of his Condition.'——Thus much for the Parliament's Account of the King's Eſcape. His Majeſty's own Narrative thereof may be found at large in Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, who had all the Particulars from the King himſelf. [p]

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An Account of the King's Eſcape into *France*, as publiſhed by Authority of the Houſe.

November. Little Buſineſs was done in the Houſe this Month, except nominating Sheriffs of Counties for the Year enſuing, till the 14th, when the Members in and about *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as

[p] Vol. VI. p. 413, *et ſeq.*

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as well Judges as others, were all ordered to be ſummoned, by the Serjeant with his Mace, and required to give their Attendance in the Houſe. The Debate upon the Bill for the Diſſolution of the Parliament was then reſumed; and the Queſtion being put, That it is now a convenient Time to declare a certain Period for the Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which it ſhall not ſit, the Houſe divided; when the *Yeas* brought in by the Lord-General *Cromwell* and the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, were 49; the *Noes*, by Colonel *Morley* and Mr. *Bond*, 47: A near-run Buſineſs, and evidently ſhews with how great Reluctancy they agreed to part with their Power.

After this Reſolution, the Houſe did nothing more than adjourn to

The Parliament fix upon a Time for their Diſſolution.

Nov. 18. When it was reſolved, That the Time for the Continuance of this Parliament, beyond which they reſolve not to ſit, ſhall be the third Day of *November*, 1654.—Thus was this great Buſineſs, which had continued in Agitation ſo many Months, at length concluded, but the Diſſolution put off *ad longum Diem*. However, they did not live to the deſtined Period; for, before that Time, this Remnant of a Parliament met its Fate, under the ſuperior Power of their Lord-General *Cromwell* and his Army.

A new Council of State elected.

Nov. 19. A Report being made from the Council of State, That the Time of the ceaſing of the Power of the ſaid Council determined on the firſt of *December* next, the Houſe reſolved, That the Number thereof, for the Year enſuing, ſhould be Twenty-one choſen out of the preſent Members, and Twenty new ones; to be elected, as before, by Ballot. Accordingly, a few Days after, the Houſe proceeded to the Election, when the Lord-General *Cromwell*, the Lord-Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *John Gurdon*, Eſq, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolle*, the Lord-

Lord-Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, *Dennis Bond* and *Thomas Scott*, Eſqrs. Colonels *Purefoy* and *Wauton*, Sir *William Maſham*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Thomas Chaloner*, Eſq; Major *Salway*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *John Carew* and *Nicholas Love*, Eſqrs. were re-elected. The new Members were *Herbert Morley* and *Anthony Stapley*, Eſqrs. Sir *Peter Wentworth*, *Philip* Lord *Liſle*, *Alexander Popham*, *John Corbet*, *Abraham Burrel*, *William Hay*, and *Cornelius Holland*, Eſqrs. Alderman *Pennington*, *William Maſham* and *John Downes*, Eſqrs. Sir *William Conſtable*, *John Dixwel*, *Henry Nevil*, *Henry Herbert*, and *Robert Blake*, Eſqrs. *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry Martin*, and *Robert Wallop*, Eſqrs. It is remarkable that, upon this Conteſt for Power, 120 Members were preſent, though, upon other Occaſions, the Houſe very ſeldom conſiſted of more than 50, and oftentimes under 40. Inter-regnum. 1651. November.

The laſt Thing we find memorable, in the Proceedings of this Month, was appointing another Day of Thankſgiving, for taking of the ſtrong and populous City of *Limerick*, in *Ireland*, by the Lord-Deputy there, *October* 30, 1651, with all the Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* therein: Likewiſe for taking the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Man*, with all their Caſtles and Forts, Ordnance and Ammunition contain'd in them. But *Ireton*, the victorious General in *Ireland*, did not long ſurvive his Conqueſt there; for he died at *Limerick*, the 26th of *November*, two Days before the Houſe had ordered ſome Phyſicians to go over, with all Speed, to attend him. *Limerick*, and the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Man*, ſurrender'd to the Parliament.

Notwithſtanding the Death of *Ireton*, in whom *Cromwell* loſt one of his moſt truſty Confidents, yet this Accident caſt no Damp upon his Ambition: For having now, by the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, three Nations under his Feet, and the Parliament and Council of State at his Devotion, he ſeems to have meditated a Deſign to aſſume the Royal Diadem, and to fix it upon his own Head: But before

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fore he attempted to put this hardy Enterprize into Execution, he thought it adviſeable to take the Opinion of his Friends. Accordingly he deſired a Meeting of ſome Members of Parliament, and Chief Officers of the Army at the Speaker's Houſe. The Particulars of this extraordinary Conference, as related by Mr. *Whitlocke* himſelf, one of the Perſons preſent on this Occaſion, will greatly illuſtrate the ſubſequent Part of this Work.

A Conference between *Cromwell* and others, touching the future Settlement of the Nation.

'The Company being aſſembled, *Cromwell* propoſed, *That now the old King being dead, and his Son being defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation: And that, in order thereunto, he had requeſted this Meeting, that they, together, might conſider and adviſe what was fit to be done, and to be preſented to the Parliament.*

LENTHALL, Speaker. *My Lord, This Company were very ready to attend your Excellency; and the Buſineſs you are pleaſed to propound to us is very neceſſary to be conſidered. God hath given marvellous Succeſs to our Forces under your Command, and if we do not improve theſe Mercies to ſome Settlement, ſuch as may be to God's Honour and the Good of this Commonwealth, we ſhall be very much Blameworthy.*

Major-General HARRISON. *I think that which my Lord-General hath propounded is, to adviſe as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and ſo that the Mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be caſt away: How this may be done is the great Queſtion.*

WHITLOCKE. *It is a great Queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were Pity that a Meeting of ſo many able and worthy Perſons, as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs.*

I ſhould humbly offer, in the firſt Place, whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood in what Way this Settlement is deſired, whether of an abſolute Republic, or with any Mixture of Monarchy?

CROMWELL. *My Lord-Commiſſioner* Whitlocke *hath put us upon the right Point; and indeed it is my Meaning that we ſhould conſider, whether a Republic*

public or a mix'd Monarchical Government will be best to be settled; and, if any Thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power shall be placed? Inter-regnum. 1651. November.

Sir T. WIDDRINGTON. *I think a mix'd Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation; and, if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that Power in one of the Sons of the late King.*

Col. FLEETWOOD. *I think that the Question, whether an absolute Republic or a mix'd Monarchy be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined.*

Lord Chief Justice ST. JOHN. *It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.*

Speaker. *It will breed a strange Confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.*

Col. DESBOROUGH. *I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the Way of a Republic?*

WHITLOCKE. *The Laws of* England *are so interwoven with the Power and Practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you have scarce Time to rectify; nor can we well foresee the Inconveniences which will arise thereby.*

Col. WHALEY. *I do not well understand Matters of Law, but it seems to me to be the best Way not to have any Thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Government: And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The late King's eldest Son hath been in Arms against us, and his second Son likewise is our Enemy.*

Sir T. WIDDRINGTON. *But the late King's third Son, the Duke of* Glouceſter, *is still among us, and too young to have been in Arms against us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.*

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WHITLOCKE. *There may be a Day given for the King's eldeſt Son, or for the Duke of* York *his Brother, to come in to the Parliament; and, upon ſuch Terms as ſhall be thought fit and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.*

CROMWELL. *That will be a Buſineſs of more than ordinary Difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with Safety, and the Preſervation of our Rights, both as* Engliſhmen *and as Chriſtians, that a Settlement, with ſomewhat of Monarchical Power in it, would be very effectual.*'

Our *Memorialiſt* adds, 'That there was much Diſcourſe, by divers Gentlemen then preſent, but too large to be inſerted: That, generally, the Soldiers were againſt any Thing of Monarchy, tho' every one of them was a Monarch in his own Regiment or Company: That the Lawyers were for a mix'd Monarchical Government; and many were for the Duke of *Glouceſter* to be made King; but *Cromwell* ſtill put off that Debate, and came to ſome other Point: And that in Concluſion, after a long Debate, the Company parted without coming to any Reſult at all; only *Cromwell* diſcovered, by this Meeting, the Inclinations of the Perſons that ſpake, which he fiſh'd for, and made uſe of what he then diſcern'd.'——Thus far Mr. *Whitlocke.*

Though, by the Reſult of this Conference, *Cromwell* was ſufficiently convinced that his Attempt upon the Crown was impracticable, yet we ſhall ſoon ſee him inveſted with a more abſolute Power than any Monarch of theſe Nations ever aſſum'd or enjoy'd.——To proceed then:

Commiſſioners appointed for the Government of *Scotland.*

December 10. The Commiſſioners to be ſent down into *Scotland*, in order to introduce an *Engliſh* Government in that Kingdom, were this Day nominated and appointed, and were theſe: Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Col. *George*

George Fenwick, Major *Richard Salway*, the Majors General *Lambert* and *Deane*, Lieutenant-General *Moncke*, and Alderman *Titchburne* of *London*. But the Inſtructions for theſe Commiſſioners were forbid by the Parliament to be enter'd in the *Journals*, and only one Copy thereof ordered to be ingroſſed for the Uſe of the Council of State. Inter-regnum. 1651. January.

Dec. 12. The Exciſe on Malt Liquors had been general; but, in order to make ſome Reduction therein, the Houſe this Day reſolved, That from and after the 25th of *December*, 1651, no Beer or Ale be exciſeable, but ſuch as ſhould be brew'd by common Brewers; or elſe brew'd to be ſold by Vintners, Inn-keepers, Alehouſe-keepers, Cooks, Chandlers, and other Perſons, brewing in their Houſes, and ſelling again by Retale or otherwiſe. A Reduction of the Exciſe,

A Deputation of three Ambaſſadors being ſent from *Holland*, to ſettle ſome Diſputes between the two Commonwealths, which were likely to break out into a War, the Houſe gave them an Audience on the 19th: But the Ceremonial being much the ſame as before, we paſs it over.

The ſame Day an Act for laying an Aſſeſſment of 90,000*l.* a Month, for ſix Months, for Maintenance of the Army, was read a third Time and paſſed; ſo that here was a Saving to the Public of 30,000*l.* a Month, and yet a very heavy Tax left behind. And of the Monthly Aſſeſſment.

January. Buſineſs of any great Moment now begins to be very ſcarce in the Proceedings of the Houſe, and little can be pick'd out of them fit for theſe Inquiries. There is a Multiplicity of various Matters included; but they were only private Affairs, the more public ones being now ſo fully ſettled, that this new Republic ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed *in Perpetuum*. Some Regulations in Government were propoſed to be made; particularly a Bill was ordered to be prepared and brought in, to rectify the Inconveniences that were then in the

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Law; and how the Miſchiefs which grew from the Delays, Chargeableneſs and Irregularities in the Proceedings of the Law, might be prevented, with the ſpeedieſt Way to reform the ſame: And a Committee of 21 Perſons, not then Members of the Houſe, of whom *Matthew Hale*, Eſq; was the Chairman, were nominated to propoſe ſome Scheme for that Purpoſe to the Committee of Parliament appointed to bring in the Bill, and to adviſe them in this Buſineſs, with Power to ſend for Perſons, Records, &c. and to meet in the late Houſe of Lords for that Purpoſe.

A Committee for regulating the Practice of the Law.

An Act of Oblivion, or general Pardon, was alſo debated this Month; and many Alterations and Amendments made to it, but not paſſed.

Joſiah Prymate and Col. *Lilburne* puniſhed for petitioning againſt Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*.

Laſtly, Col. *John Lilburne* having joined in a Petition with *Joſiah Prymate*, to the Houſe, againſt Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, complaining of his great Oppreſſion and Tyranny, in ſeizing on certain Collieries in the County of *Durham*; and over-awing and directing the Commiſſioners to whom he had applied for Relief, the ſaid Petition was voted falſe, malicious, and ſcandalous, and order'd to be burnt by the common Hangman. *Prymate* and *Lilburne* were fined each 3000 *l.* for the Uſe of the Commonwealth; 2000 *l.* to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* for Damages, and 500 *l.* a-piece to the Commiſſioners before whom the Cauſe had been heard. The former of them was alſo committed to the *Fleet* till Payment ſhould be made, and the latter was ordered to be baniſhed out of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the Territories thereto belonging, and to ſuffer Death in caſe of his Return.

February. Almoſt all this Month was taken up with Debates on the Bill mentioned for a general Pardon and Oblivion; but ſuch a Multitude of Proviſoes, propoſed and divided upon, are in the *Journals*, as plainly ſhew the Parliament had no Intention either to pardon fully, or forget paſt Treſpaſſes againſt them.

Many

Many Petitions were alſo preſented from the Merchants, touching private Inconveniences ſuſtained by the new Navigation Act. Inter-regnum. 1651. March.

There was alſo an Act paſſed, giving further Powers touching the Sale of Delinquents Eſtates; and another, whereby all Honours, Titles, &c. granted by King *Charles* the Firſt, ſince the 4th of *January*, 1641, were declared null and void. Writs were ordered to be iſſued to the Sheriffs, for bringing in all ſuch Patents for Honours, &c. into the Court of Chancery, in order to their being cancell'd, with a Penalty of 50*l.* on Refuſal. Every Peer aſſuming ſuch Title to forfeit 100*l.* a Baronet or Knight, 40*l.* And any Perſon giving ſuch prohibited Title by way of Addreſs, 10*s.* Act for vacating Honours granted by the late King.

March. The Parliament's Commiſſioners in *Scotland* having now made great Progreſs in their Reformation of the Government in that Kingdom, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. and Col. *Fenwick*, two of their Number, were ſent by the reſt to give an Account to the Houſe of their Proceedings. There are only the Titles of the public Papers which were exhibited to the Houſe, on this Occaſion, in the *Journals*; and to recite even theſe would be ſo tedious, that we forbear the further Mention of them till we come to the final Reſult.

We ſhall finiſh our Account of the Proceedings of the Legal Year 1651, with obſerving, That on the 25th of this Month the Parliament made ſome further Progreſs in the Bill for Reformation of the Laws. An Act was brought in for taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations, and original Writs; another for the more ſpeedy Recovery of Rents; and a third againſt cuſtomary Oaths; which were all read twice, and committed to the Committee before appointed to ſit on this great Affair.

The Acts paſſed now were ſo few, that we ſhall content ourſelves with giving an Abſtract of the moſt material of them at the End of the Year.

Inter-regnum. 1652.

1652.

April.

April. Nothing but private Affairs interfering, we go on to the 13th of this Month, when a Bill was brought in for incorporating of *Scotland* into one Commonwealth and Free State with *England*; and for aboliſhing the Kingly Office in *Scotland*. It was read a firſt and ſecond Time, and committed to a large Committee; but all that came were to have Voices in it.

Some more Additions were made to the Bill for regulating the Law; which went on very ſlowly, 'It being the Intereſt, ſays *Ludlow*, of the Lawyers to preſerve the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of the whole Nation in their own Hands. So that upon the Debate, adds this *Memorialiſt*, of regiſtering Deeds in each County, for want of which, within a certain Time fix'd after the Sale, ſuch Deeds ſhould be void; and, being ſo regiſtered, that Land ſhould not be ſubject to any Incumbrance: This Word *Incumbrance* was ſo managed by the Lawyers, that it took up three Months Time before it could be aſcertained by the Committee.' [r]

Vote relating to Tythes.

The Buſineſs of Tythes was alſo another Topic this Month; and, after Debate upon them, the Houſe ordered it to be referred to the Committee appointed to receive Propoſals for the better Propagation of the Goſpel, to conſider how a convenient and competent Maintenance for a godly and able Miniſtry may be ſettled in lieu of Tythes, and preſent their Opinion to the Houſe. And the Queſtion being put that this Clauſe be added, 'That Tythes ſhould be paid as formerly, untill ſuch Maintenance be ſettled,' the Houſe divided; when it was carried in the Affirmative, by 27 againſt 17.

May 7. The firſt Thing we find remarkable in the Proceedings of this Month is, that the Parliament, according to Order, took into Conſideration how the Houſe might be ſupplied with Members. Next

[r] *Ludlow's Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. *ult.*

Next they voted, That the Grand Committee for settling a certain Time for the Sitting of this present Parliament, and providing for ſucceſſive Parliaments, be revived. Accordingly on the 12th they reſum'd this Buſineſs, and ordered it to be continued every *Wedneſday*, as before. Inter-regnum. 1652. May.

May 14. The Commiſſioners ſent into *Scotland* to ſettle Affairs there being return'd, they this Day gave an Account to the Houſe of their Tranſactions in that Kingdom; which were ſo ſatisfactory, that the Speaker was ordered to return them Thanks for their extraordinary Care and Pains in managing the Affairs of *Scotland*. Letters of Thanks were alſo ordered to be ſent to Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Moncke*, Alderman *Tichburne*, and Major-General *Deane*, for the ſame Services. The Colonels *Overton*, *Ingoldſby*, and *Pryde*, had 500 *l.* a-year ſettled on each of them, out of the forfeited Eſtates in *Scotland*; ſo that that Nation was now almoſt entirely ſubdued, and made a Fief to the Commonwealth of *England*. The Affairs of *Scotland*.

About this Time a Sea-Fight happened in the *Downs*, between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*; the particular Account of which was, on the 21ſt, communicated to the Houſe in a Letter from Admiral *Blake*, but not enter'd in the *Journals*. However they voted their Approbation of what the Admiral had done in this Affair; and ordered the Council of State to take Care of the ſtrengthening the Fleet, for the Security and Benefit of the Commonwealth. And the next Day of Meeting, *May* 25, on a Report from the ſaid Council, the Houſe ordered that 40 Sail of Ships, more than were already in the Service of the Commonwealth, ſhould be taken on ſpeedily, and to employ other Forces as they ſhould ſee Cauſe, and to proceed vigorouſly. A Sea-Fight with the *Dutch*;

About the ſame Time with the late Sea-Fight, three Ambaſſadors from the States arrived at *London*, and were conducted to a public Audience of the

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the Houſe. Mr. *Ludlow* gives the following Account of this Embaſſy: 'The States General, being highly diſpleaſed with the late Act of Navigation paſſed by the Parliament, which they accounted to be a great Obſtruction to their Trade, reſolved to leave no Means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this End they ſent three Ambaſſadors to *England*[a]; who pretending a Deſire to finiſh the Treaty begun formerly between the two States, requeſted that Things might be as they were at the Time of the Parliament's Ambaſſador's Departure from *Holland*; deſigning thereby that the Act lately paſs'd for the Encouragement of our Seamen ſhould be ſuſpended, and all ſuch Merchandizes reſtored as had been ſeized from the *Dutch* by Virtue of the ſaid Act. The Parliament refuſing to conſent to this Propoſal, the States General gave Orders for the equipping a conſiderable Fleet, conſiſting of about 100 Ships of War, giving Notice to the Houſe, by their Ambaſſadors, of theſe Preparations; and aſſuring them that they were not deſign'd to offend the *Engliſh* Nation, with whom they deſired to maintain a friendly Correſpondence; and that they were provided to no other End, than to protect their own Subjects in their Trade and Navigation. But the Parliament, being unwilling to rely upon the Promiſes of thoſe, who, by their paſt and preſent Actions, had manifeſted little Friendſhip to them, reſolved to make what Preparations they could to defend themſelves.'

Who thereupon ſend Ambaſſadors to the Parliament

June. Moſt of this Month is taken up with Notes or Inferences, in the *Journals*, relating to the Tranſactions between the Parliament and Council of State, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors. But theſe Notes are ſo abſtractedly enter'd, as not to be capable of an Explanation.

After

[a] Their Names were *James Catts*, Lord of *Wulpen*; *Gerard Schaep*, Alderman of *Amſterdam*; and *Paul Vande Perre*, Counſellor Penſionary of *Middleburgh*. The Memorial preſented by them, with the Parliament's Anſwer, are in *Whitlocke*. Many other Papers, touching this Negotiation, are printed in the Firſt Volume of *Thurloe's State Papers*, and in *Heath's Chronicle*.

After the late Sea-Fight, the States of *Holland* dispatched away another Messenger to the Commonwealth of *England*, the Lord *Pauw*, who took upon him the Character of an Ambassador Extraordinary, and had Audience of the House accordingly, on the 10th. His Business was, by what can be pick'd out of the *Journals*, to expostulate with the Parliament on the late violent Proceedings of the *English* Fleet in the *Downs*, and to settle Affairs between the two States in an amicable Manner. Inter-regnum. 1652. July.

But all these Negotiations had no Effect; for we find that the *English* Demands being to have Satisfaction from the *Dutch* for all Charges and Damages this State had sustained, and been put to this Summer, on their Account, the *Dutch* denied to consent to it: And the Ambassadors having desired to take their Leave of the House, it was granted, and done with great Ceremony on the 29th. The Council of State was also ordered to prepare them convenient Passes and Safe Conducts for their Return home, and they set forward that very Night for that Purpose. The House voted their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Council in this Affair; and likewise ordered them to draw up and prepare a Declaration, to assert the Right of the Commonwealth of *England* in the Sovereignty of the Seas, and to the Fishery; to be made Use of when the Parliament should see Cause.

Nothing else memorable in this Month; but, about the Middle of it, the House pass'd a Bill for continuing the Assessment of 90,000 *l.* a Month, for six Months longer. The last Monthly Assessment continued.

July. The War with *Holland* now began to be enter'd into in earnest; Sir *George Ayscough*, one of the *English* Admirals, lately returned from reducing the Plantations to the Obedience of Parliament, fought the *Dutch* Fleet, under Admiral *Van Tromp*, and took, sunk, and dispersed 36 Sail of their Ships. An Account of which coming on the 6th of this Month to the House, they ordered that a Letter of Thanks be written from the Parliament to

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to Sir *George Ayſcough*, taking Notice of his great Services to the Commonwealth, and that he ſhould give their Thanks alſo to the Officers under him.

Admiral *Blake* was ſent with a ſtrong Squadron Northward, to diſturb the *Dutch* Fiſheries on that Coaſt, where he fought and diſperſed their Men of War, and took moſt of their Fiſhing Buſſes, &c.

July 7. This Day a Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, relating to the Affairs and Proceedings between them and the States General of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, and the preſent Differences occaſion'd on the States Part; together with the Papers to which this Declaration related, all tranſlated into *Latin*, *Dutch*, and *French*, were ordered to be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

Cathedral Churches order'd to be pull'd down and ſold;

The Parliament owing large Sums of Money to divers People, on what was called *The Public Faith*, an Order had been made the 18th of *February*, That all the Cathedral Churches in *England*, where there were other Churches ſufficient for the People to meet in for the Worſhip of God, ſhould be ſurveyed, pulled down, and the Materials ſold; the Value received for which ſhould be applied to ſet the Poor on Work. And on the 9th of this Month a Motion was made for referring it to a Committee to conſider what Cathedrals were fit to ſtand, or what to be pulled down, or what Part thereof; and how thoſe Cathedrals, or ſuch Part of them as ſhould be pulled down, might be applied to the Payment of the Creditors upon the Public Faith; which was agreed to [u]. But theſe Words,

[u] In conſequence of this Reſolution, we find the following Advertiſement printed in a *Diary* of theſe Times:

At Lichfield, *in* Staffordſhire, *is great Store of Lead to be ſold, by reaſon of taking down the Cathedral Church or Minſter there, and alſo the Bells of the ſaid Cathedral; all which will be ſold worth the Money. If any pleaſe to repair thither to buy them, they may be well uſed in the Price of them.*

But this noble Fabric happened to be preſerved from being utterly ruined by the Sacrilegious Violence of theſe Times; and was afterwards reſtored to its priſtine Elegance, by the Care and Generoſity of Biſhop *Hacket*, as may be ſeen in Dr. *Willis*'s *Hiſtory of Cathedrals*, Vol. I. 4to, p. 324.

Words, *Collegiate Churches*, being propoſed to be added, the Houſe divided, when the latter Buildings were voted to be ſpared, by the poor Majority of 25 againſt 21. Another Queſtion being put, That the Bells of ſuch Cathedrals as the Parliament ſhould think fit to be pulled down, ſhould be applied to public Uſe, for making Ordnance for Shipping, it paſſed in the Negative, by only 23 againſt 21.

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The Parliament had not yet done with fleecing the Royaliſts; but ſeveral more Bills and Additions to Bills for Compoſition or Sale of their Eſtates, were ſtill going forward, and eſpecially at this Time, when the Navy they were obliged to maintain againſt the *Dutch*, took up a great deal of Money to ſupport it; amongſt which the Roman Catholics were rated very high: For on the 20th of this Month it was reſolved, That ſuch Papiſts Delinquents, whoſe Eſtates ſhould be expoſed to Sale, might compound for them at ſix Years Value, and then be allowed to ſell the whole ſo compounded for, provided they departed the Nation within one Year after ſuch Compoſition; otherwiſe their Eſtates, although compounded for, to be ſtill ſubject to the Law. And the next Day the Eſtates of *William* Lord *Craven*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *Edward Ratcliffe*, Sir *Walter Vavaſor*, and many others, (whoſe Names are particularized in the *Journals*) were ordered to be ſold for the Uſe of the Navy.

Alſo Money to be raiſed on Delinquents Eſtates, towards carrying on the *Dutch* War.

Auguſt. The Buſineſs of this Month ſeems to run ſtill for raiſing Money on Delinquents Eſtates. The Houſe alſo went upon the Diſtribution of the Lands lately conquered in *Ireland*, and appointed *Oliver Cromwell*, by the Title of Captain-General of all the Parliament's Forces; Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, as Commander in Chief under him, in *Ireland*[x]; Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, *Miles Corbett*, *John Jones*, and *John Weaver*, Eſqrs. Commiſſioners

[x] *Cromwell*'s Warrant, appointing *Fleetwood* to this Command, is in *Thurloe*'s *State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 212.

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missioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of that Nation, with the following Instructions for that Purpose:

Instructions for the Commissioners appointed to settle the Government of *Ireland*.

I. 'YOU are to endeavour, by the best Ways 'and Means you can, to preserve the Peace 'of *Ireland*, and that the People there may have 'Right and Justice duly administer'd to them; 'and to that End, as near as the present Affairs 'will permit, you are to see that the Laws of *Eng-* 'land, as to Matters of Government and Admini- 'stration of Justice, be put in Execution in *Ire-* 'land: And you are authorized to erect, allow, 'alter or continue any Court or Courts of Justice 'or Judicatories, in any Place in *Ireland*, with all 'Rights, Powers, Jurisdictions, Incidents, and Ne- 'cessaries requisite for the same; and to appoint 'and place in every of them such Judges, Justices, 'Officers, and Ministers; and to appoint for every 'of them respectively such Salaries and Allowances, 'and to issue forth such Commissions and Depu- 'tations for the Execution thereof, as you shall 'judge needful and most conducing to the Peace 'and Good of that People, and to the settling of 'them in Obedience to the Parliament of *England*, 'untill further Resolutions be taken by the Parlia- 'ment concerning the same: And you are to cause 'such Seals to be made and used in the Courts of 'Justice, or for passing Grants or transacting Pro- 'ceedings there, as are or shall be, in that Behalf, 'by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *Eng-* 'land, directed and appointed.

II. 'You are to cause the Act, intitled, *An Act* 'for settling of Ireland (whereof several printed 'Copies are herewith delivered unto you) to be 'published and dispersed in the several Provinces 'of *Ireland*, in such Manner as you shall think 'fit; to the End that all the People of that Na- 'tion, concerned therein, may understand what 'the Intentions of the Parliament are towards 'them; and you are to take Care that the same be 'put in Execution accordingly.

III. 'You

III. 'You are to conſider of the readieſt and Inter-regnum.
'beſt Ways for ſettling that Country, and preſent. 1652.
'your Opinions therein to the Parliament as there August.
'ſhall be Cauſe.

IV. 'You are to endeavour the Promulgation 'of the Goſpel and the Power of true Religion 'and Holineſs there, and to cauſe competent Maintenance to be allowed and duly paid out of the 'public Revenue, to ſuch Miniſters and Perſons of 'pious Life and Converſation, and well-affected to 'the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, 'as are fitly qualified with Gifts for preaching the Goſpel, and inſtructing of the People 'there in Godlineſs and Honeſty; and to take 'Care that all due Protection, Countenance, and 'Encouragement be given thereunto by all in Authority under the Parliament; and to put in Execution all Acts, Ordinances, and Orders of Parliament, now in Force, againſt Pluraliſts, Malignants, and ſcandalous Miniſters.

V. 'You are to conſider of all due Ways and 'Means for the advancing of Learning and training up of Youth in Piety and Literature; and 'to promote the ſame, by ſettling of Maintenance 'upon fit Perſons to be employed therein.

VI. 'You are authorized to remove out of any 'Office or Place of Civil Government in *Ireland*, 'any Magiſtrate, Governor, Officer, or others, 'whom you ſhall find unfit for the Truſt repoſed 'in them, or to be dangerous to this Commonwealth; and you ſhall place others in their room, 'as you ſee Cauſe, fitted for ſuch Employment, 'for the better Advancement of the Service of this 'Commonwealth, and for the Good and Peace of 'the People thereof.

VII. 'You are to take Care that no Papiſt or 'Delinquent, or diſaffected Perſons, be entruſted 'with, or any way employed in, the Adminiſtration of the Laws or Execution of Juſtice, or of 'any Office or Place of Truſt in *Ireland*.

VIII. 'You are to take Care that no Papiſt nor 'Delinquent be permitted, directly nor indirectly,

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'to practice as Counſellors at Law, Attornies, or 'Solicitors, nor to keep Schools for the training 'of Youth.

IX. 'You are to inform yourſelves of the State 'of the antient Revenue, and all the Profits of for- 'feited Lands in *Ireland*, and to cauſe all Forfeitures 'and Eſcheats to be improved for the beſt Advan- 'tage of this Commonwealth; and to cauſe all Acts, 'Ordinances, and Orders of Parliament, now in 'Force in this Commonwealth, for ſequeſtring of 'Delinquents and Papiſts Eſtates, and of all the 'Eſtates of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and 'Chapters, to be put in Execution in *Ireland*: 'And alſo to put in Execution all Acts and Ordi- 'nances of Parliament for the levying and recei- 'ving of the Duties of Cuſtom and Exciſe, at the 'ſame Rates and Proportions expreſſed in the ſaid 'Acts and Ordinances for levying the ſame in '*England*.

X. 'You are authorized by yourſelves, or ſuch 'as you ſhall appoint fit for that Purpoſe, from 'Time to Time, as you ſhall ſee Cauſe, upon the 'Place, to impoſe and lay Taxes and Aſſeſſments 'upon the Lands and Goods of the People of *Ire-* '*land*, not exceeding 40,000*l.* a Month, towards 'the Pay and Maintenance of the Army and Gar- 'riſons there, and for the defraying of the Public 'Charges, and carrying on the Affairs of this 'Commonwealth in *Ireland*, in order to the Exe- 'cution of theſe Inſtructions; and, as much as may 'be, for the Eaſe of the Charge of this Common- 'wealth: And you are alſo by yourſelves, or ſuch 'as you ſhall appoint, to ſett and lett all ſuch 'Lands, Houſes, and other Hereditaments what- 'ſoever, in *Ireland*, as are, or ſhall be, in the Diſ- 'poſal of the Parliament of *England*; as alſo the 'Rents, Iſſues, and Profits of all Eccleſiaſtical 'Benefices of ſuch Miniſters as ſhall be ejected, 'and of all ſuch other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions and 'Benefices as ſhall become vacant, and not other- 'wiſe diſpoſed of, by Act or Order of Parliament, 'for ſuch Time or Term of Years, not exceeding

'ſeven

'ſeven Years; and at and under ſuch Rents and 'other Conditions as you ſhall conceive to be moſt 'for the Public Advantage: And you are to give 'ſuch Directions or Inſtructions as, upon the Place, 'you ſhall think fit, concerning the Public Revenue ariſing out of that Nation. Inter-regnum. 1652. Auguſt.

XI. 'You are authorized, by Warrants under 'your Hands, from Time to Time, to charge the 'Treaſury and Public Revenues ariſing out of that 'Nation, and to diſpoſe of ſo much thereof as you 'ſhall judge neceſſary for the carrying on or effecting of any Thing in theſe Inſtructions, or in purſuance thereof: And you are to appoint Receivers, Collectors, and all Officers and Miniſters 'needful for the raiſing, collecting, receiving, managing, and iſſuing of the ſaid Public Revenue; 'and to allow them, and every of them, fitting 'Salaries for their Service therein; and your ſaid 'Warrant for iſſuing out or diſpoſing of any Sum 'or Sums of Money out of the ſaid Revenue, 'ſhall be a ſufficient Diſcharge to the ſaid Officers 'reſpectively for the ſame; all other Warrants for 'Payment of the Army, either in Money or Proviſions, or the incident Charges thereof; and 'likewiſe all Warrants for Ammunition to be delivered out of the Public Stores, being to be iſſued 'by the Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*.

XII. 'You are to cauſe to be put in Execution, 'effectually, all Laws now in Force againſt the 'counterfeiting, clipping, waſhing, or debaſing of 'Coin; and are impowered to put forth Proclamations, as you ſhall think fit, for ſuppreſſing 'thereof.

XIII. 'You are, from Time to Time, to commiſſionate and appoint Judges, Juſtices, Commiſſioners, Miniſters, and ſuch other Perſons as 'you ſhall judge requiſite for putting in Execution 'all and every of theſe Inſtructions; and to order 'and appoint them fitting Salaries and Allowances 'for the ſame, with Regard had to the Eaſe of the 'Charge of this Commonwealth; and, from Time

'to

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'to Time, to remove and diſplace them, or any of 'them, and place others in their Room, as you 'ſhall ſee Cauſe, for the Public Service there.

XIV. 'You are hereby authorized and impow-'ered to erect and make Uſe of, or command, any 'Preſs or Preſſes there for printing and publiſhing 'any Proclamations, Declarations, Orders, Books, 'or other Matters, which you ſhall think fit for the 'Public Service; and to prohibit the Uſe thereof 'by any Perſon, or in Caſes where you ſhall ſee 'Cauſe.

XV. 'You are authorized to ſend for, in ſafe 'Cuſtody, and to commit to Priſon, or otherwiſe 'to reſtrain, ſuch Perſons in *Ireland*, (not under 'Military Command) whom you ſhall at any 'Time find to be any ways dangerous to this 'Commonwealth; and ſuch as ſhall be by you 'impriſoned, or reſtrained, to releaſe and diſcharge 'out of Priſon, or Reſtraint, again, at any Time 'when you ſhall ſee Cauſe to do the ſame for the 'Advantage of the Public Service: And you are 'authorized to remove from their Places of Habi-'tation, and to ſend into *England*, or ſuch other 'Places as you ſhall think fit, any Perſons whoſe 'Reſidence in thoſe Parts from whence they are to 'be removed, you ſhall judge dangerous to this 'Commonwealth, or prejudicial to the Authority 'thereof, or the Peace of that Nation: And you 'may give Licence to any Perſons that ſhall be by 'you ſo removed, to return again to their Places 'of Reſidence, or Habitation; at any Time when 'you ſhall ſee Cauſe, for the Advantage of the 'Public Service there.

XVI. 'You are authorized, by yourſelves, or 'ſuch as you ſhall depute or appoint for that Pur-'poſe, to adminiſter any Oath or Oaths to any 'Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, in purſuance of 'theſe Inſtructions, or in order to the Execution 'thereof.

XVII. 'You are to conſider, with the Com-'mander in Chief, of all due Ways and Means 'for leſſening the Public Charge of the Common-

'wealth

'wealth there, either by reducing the Forces into fewer Regiments, disbanding Supernumeraries, demolishing of Castles or Garrisons, or by moderating and regulating the present Establishment of the Pay for the said Forces; or by taking away any other superfluous Charge of what Kind soever, wherewith the Public Revenue is charged; and to put the same into Practice and Execution, with such convenient Speed as the Condition of Affairs will admit, and as you find the same may stand with the public Safety and Advantage. Inter-regnum. 1654. August.

XVIII. 'You are authorized to be present at all Councils of War, and to give such Advice as you shall see Cause.

XIX. 'All Officers and Soldiers of the Forces of this Commonwealth in *Ireland*, and all other Persons residing or being there, within the Power and Protection of this Commonwealth, are hereby commanded to be aiding and assisting to you for the better Execution of these Instructions.

XX. 'You are to give frequent and timely Notice of your Proceedings in the Execution of these Instructions, unto the Parliament, or to the Council of State.

XXI. 'You are to take effectual Care for the Preservation of the Timber in *Ireland*; and to use all such Ways and Means for preventing the Mischiefs and Inconveniences by felling Timber there, as you shall think fit.'

Whilst the Parliament was employ'd in debating the foregoing Instructions, on the 13th of this Month a Petition was presented to them by Commissary-General *Whalley*, in the Name of the Council of Officers of the Army. The Contents of this Petition are not set down in the *Journals*: But Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us that it consisted of the following Particulars: A Petition from the Council of Officers in the Army,

1. 'That speedy and effectual Means might be used for propagating the Gospel; profane and scandalous Ministers to be outed; good Preachers en-

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encouraged, Maintenance for them provided, and Tithes taken away.

2. 'For Regulation of the Law: To desire that what the Committee for it had propounded, might be debated, and Encouragement given to them.

3. 'That profane, scandalous, and disaffected Persons, in all Places of Authority, might be removed by Act of Parliament; and well-affected Persons put in; and all to be such as feared God and hated Covetousness.

4. 'To redress Abuses in the Collecting and Management of the Excise.

5. 'That Public-Faith Debts be justly satisfied; and first to the poorer Sort, before any more of the public Revenue be given away to particular Persons.

6. 'For stating the Accounts and satisfying the Arrears of Soldiers, and Care for maimed Soldiers, and Widows and Children of Soldiers slain.

7. 'That all Articles of War given to the Enemy might be made good.

8 'That the public Revenue might be brought into one Treasury, with the Officers to be appointed by Parliament; and their Receipts and Disbursements published half yearly.

9. 'That a Committee be appointed, out of the House, to consider of unnecessary Offices and Salaries.

10. 'For setting the Poor to work, punishing Beggars, and providing for the Impotent.

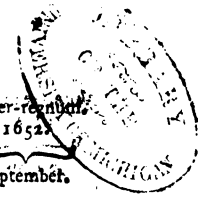
11. 'For Liberty, in Corporations, for those who have served the Parliament to use manual Occupations.

12. 'For Qualifications of such as shall sit in future Parliaments.'

For which they receive the Thanks of the House.

The House received these Military Petitioners seemingly with great Respect, for they not only referr'd their Petition to a Committee, but order'd the Speaker to return hearty Thanks to them for their good Affections expressed therein to the Public: Notwithstanding which Mr. *Whitlocke* informs

us,



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us, 'That many were unſatisfied with this Petition, looking upon it as improper, if not arrogant, from the Officers of the Army to the Parliament, their Maſters: And that *Cromwell* was adviſed to ſtop this Way of petitioning by the Officers of the Army with their Swords in their Hands, leſt, in Time, it might come too home to himſelf: But that he ſeemed to ſlight this Advice, or rather to have ſome Deſign on foot, and put the Soldiery upon preparing the Way for him.'——A Conjecture fully verified by the Event.

All the Nations and States in *Europe* had, one Time or other, ſince the Commencement of the *Engliſh* Commonwealth, ſent Ambaſſadors or Envoys, either to compliment them on their aſſumed Power, or to renew old Treaties with them in regard of Trade and Commerce, except *France*; againſt whom an Act had been paſſed, prohibiting the Importation of any Wines, Wool, or Silk from that Kingdom. This Act had continued in Force for ſome Time; and, as has been before remark'd, a War with *Portugal* being on foot, the *Engliſh* muſt have been ſupplied with their red Wines from the *Dutch*: But this Channel being alſo ſtopp'd up by the late War entered into againſt the *States*, the Parliament ſeemed obliged to open the old Courſe, or drink no Claret. The Houſe therefore voted, That Liberty and Licence be given for a free Trade and Commerce with *France*, to ſuch Ports of that Kingdom, and under ſuch Reſtrictions, as the Council of State ſhould think fit; and an Act to be prepared accordingly.

Trade open'd with *France*.

Another Sea-Fight happened between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets, near *Plymouth*, about the Middle of this Month, of which ſome ſlight Notice is taken in the *Journals*; but none ſignificant enough to make us think it was with any great Advantage to the *Engliſh*.

September 3. This Day the Annual Thankſgiving, appointed laſt Year to be kept for giving Thanks to Almighty God for many Mercies, particularly for the great Victories vouchſafed unto

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their Forces at *Worceſter*, on the third Day of *September*, 1651, and at *Dunbar* on the ſame Day, 1650, was obſerved with great Solemnity.

October.

The Parliament had now got a new foreign Enemy, by Admiral *Blake's* fighting and beating the *French* Fleet, and taking ſeveral of their Ships: But, on the 8th, the Houſe ordered the *French* Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen taken in them, to be ſent home to their own Country.

Some of the Articles contained in the laſt Petition of the Army to the Parliament begin now to break out: For, on the 14th, a Report was made from the Committee to whom the ſaid Petition was referred, of the State of the Proceedings of the Grand Committee upon the Bill for fixing a Time for the Diſſolution of this Parliament, and the providing ſucceſſive Parliaments; but nothing was yet concluded upon touching this important Buſineſs.

The reſt of this Month was chiefly taken up with Proceedings on the Bill for the Sale of Delinquents Eſtates, which was not yet ended. A Call of the Houſe was ordered to be on the third of *November* next; and a *Portugal* Ambaſſador, named *Jean Roderico, Comes de Camera*, had an Audience, being introduced with the uſual Ceremonies.

October 1. The Council of State repreſented to the Houſe the diſtracted Condition the Treaſury was in at this Time, by reaſon of which they could not manage thoſe Affairs the Parliament had committed to them: They therefore humbly reminded the Houſe of reſuming the Conſideration of a Bill depending before them, relating to that Buſineſs; as alſo concerning the executory Part of the Admiralty, many Difficulties ariſing from the Way in which it was then managed.

Hereupon the Houſe ordered the Committee for that Bill to be revived; to meet that Afternoon, and to bring in the Names of ſuch Perſons for Superviſors of the Treaſury, as they ſhould think fit, on that Day Se'nnight; and the ſame for the

the Navy. Then the Question being put, That no Persons to be named for the Navy should be Members of Parliament, it passed in the Negative, by 19 against 17. The same Question being put for the Treasury, it was carried in the Negative, without any Division. Inter-regnum. 1652. October.

A Deputation of 21 Commissioners from *Scotland* came up to *London* about this Time, and were lodg'd in *Westminster* by the Parliament's Orders. These Gentlemen came to treat with the Parliament about the intended Union between the two Nations: And, to that End, the House appointed twelve of their Members, whereof seven to be of the *Quorum*, to meet with these Deputies, to peruse their Commission, and see that it was in pursuance of, and according to, a Declaration of Parliament lately published. It was also resolved that the said Committee should confer with the Persons so deputed, report to the Parliament their Proceedings, and receive their further Directions in the same: And that the Council of State should give their Warrants for Money to defray the necessary Charges of this Service. In the *English* Commission were the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Col. *George Fenwick*, Major *Richard Salway*, Sir *Arthur Heselrigge*, the Lords Commissioners *Whitlocke* and *Lisle*, the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Major-General *Harrison*, Col. *Sidney*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, and Col. *Martin*, who were to meet the *Scots* Deputies in the late House of Lords. Deputies come up from *Scotland*, to treat with the Parliament about the intended Union of the two Nations.

Mr. *Ludlow* writes, 'That this Proposition of Union was chearfully accepted by the most judicious of the *Scots* Nation, who well understood what a great Condecension it was in the Parliament of *England*, to permit a People they had conquered to have a Share with them in the Legislative Power[t].' But the *Scots* Clergy, as another Contemporary informs us[u], protested against this

[t] *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 388.

[u] *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 307.——This Author (p. 325.) informs us, That, some Time after, the General Assembly of the Kirk having convened themselves at *Edinburgh*, with as much Authority as

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Union, 'Leſt ſuch an Incorporation ſhould draw with it a Subordination of the Kirk to the State in the Things of *Chriſt*.' However, the *Scots* were forced not only to ſend Deputies to bring down ſuch Laws to them as their Conquerors thought proper to give, but alſo to ſubmit to be tax'd by the Commonwealth of *England*. For,

An Aſſeſſment of 10,000 *l.* per Menſem laid upon *Scotland*.

Oct. 26. Upon a Report from the Lord-Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, the Houſe reſolved, That a monthly Aſſeſſment of 10,000*l.* Sterling be laid upon *Scotland*; but with a particular Reſpect to the Eaſe of ſuch Places as had or ſhould comply with the Parliament's Tender of an Union, not only in regard of quartering of Soldiers, but alſo of abating their particular Aſſeſſments.

A Difference with *Denmark*.

The Parliament had a high Diſpute this Month with the King of *Denmark*, who was then influenced againſt them by the States General. Some of our Merchant-Ships, on their Return from the *Baltic*, having, for Fear of the *Dutch* Fleet, put into *Copenhagen*, under the Protection of the *Daniſh* King, the Parliament ſent out a Fleet of 18 Sail to convoy thoſe Merchants home, but the *Danes* refuſed to deliver them; whereupon the *Engliſh* Fleet return'd without them. This occaſioned a Remonſtrance from the Parliament to the King of *Denmark*, about the detained Ships; and he ſent over two Ambaſſadors to *England*, who had Audience of the Houſe. All we can learn by the ſhort Hints in the *Journals*, concerning their Embaſſy, is only this: That it was not pleaſing to either Side; for, on the 29th, theſe Ambaſſadors took their Leave and departed.

Two printed Pamphlets, or Books, gave the Houſe ſome Uneaſineſs at this Time; one intitled, *An Anſwer to the Declaration of the imaginary Parliament of the unknown Commonwealth of* England. The

formerly, and falling into a hundred Fractions, Lieut. Col. *Cotterel* was ſent to diſmiſs them from their Seats; which he roundly did, charging them, upon their Peril, not to attempt any ſuch farther Meeting; and, to that Purpoſe, not any three of them ſhould preſume to meet or be ſeen together.

The other called *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris*; or, *Aſtrological Predictions for the Year* 1653. By *William Lilly*, Student in Aſtrology. The Parliament referred them both to the Council of State to find out the Authors, Printers, *&c.* and report their Opinions of it to the Houſe. Inter-regnum. 1652. November.

November. The Parliament went now upon Ways and Means to raiſe Money for carrying on the *Dutch* War, without laying more Taxes on the Public. This made the Caſe of the poor Delinquents much harder, for they ſearched into thoſe Forfeitures, throughout *England*, with great Strictneſs and Severity: Inſomuch, that an infinite Number of Names are mentioned in the *Journals* of this Month, of thoſe unhappy Perſons who were to be put in an additional Bill for Sale of their Eſtates in every Part of the Nation, in which the Royal Palaces, *&c.* were included; for an Order was made, That *Hyde-Park*, *Enfield-Chace*, *Hampton-Court*, *Buſhy-Park*, *Greenwich* with its Appurtenances, and *Windſor-Caſtle*, ſhould be ſold for ready Money. A Motion was alſo made for the Sale of *Somerſet-Houſe*; but, upon the Queſtion, it was ſaved, by a Diviſion of 34 againſt 19. Delinquents Eſtates and Crown Lands ordered to be ſold.

The Election for a new Council of State was alſo, according to annual Cuſtom, carried through this Month. The Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, was ordered to go out and ſummon all the Members in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Parts adjacent, to attend the Houſe. The Doors were then ordered to be ſhut, when the Number of Members preſent appeared to be 122. The 21 Members of the Council, to be continued for the Year enſuing, were, the Lord-General *Cromwell*, Lord-Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolle*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, *Thomas Scott*, *Herbert Morley*, and *Dennis Bond*, Eſqr. Col. *Purefoy*, *John Bradſhaw*, Serjeant at Law, *John Gurdon*, Eſq; Lord-Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Col. *Wauton*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Maſham*, *Thomas Chaloner* A new Council of State choſen.

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ner and *Robert Wallop*, Esq^rs. Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and *Nicholas Love*, Esq;

The 20 new Members, now elected, were, *Robert Goodwin*, Esq; Alderman *Allen*, Colonel *Thompson*, *Walter Strickland*, Esq; Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Major-General *Skippon*, Lord *Grey*, Col. *Sidney*, *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; Attorney-General, Sir *John Trevor*, Col. *Norton*, *Thomas Lister*, Esq; Col. *Ingoldsby*, Sir *John Bourchier*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Cawley*, Esq; Sir *William Brereton*, *John Fielder* and *William Say*, Esq^rs. and Major-General *Harrison*.

A Dialogue between *Cromwell* and *Whitlocke* concerning the former's taking the Crown upon himself.

Amongst the Tranſactions of this Month, Mr. *Whitlocke* has given us a long Dialogue between *Cromwell* and himſelf, upon the Grand Queſtion, Whether any Meaſure could be hit upon for ſettling the preſent Diſtractions of the Nation, but by Diſſolving the Parliament and Reſtoring of Monarchy: And how far it would be ſafe for *Cromwell*, in ſuch Caſe, to take the Crown upon himſelf? This Dialogue is in itſelf ſo extremely intereſting, and contributes ſo much to the Illuſtration of ſome important Events now haſtening upon us, that the Length thereof will be no Excuſe for the Omiſſion of it. We ſhall therefore give it at large in Mr. *Whitlocke*'s own Words:

'It was about this Time that the Lord-General *Cromwell*, meeting with *Whitlocke*, ſaluted him with more than ordinary Courteſy; and deſired him to walk aſide with him, that they might have ſome private Diſcourſe together. *Whitlocke* waited on him, and he began the Diſcourſe between them, which was to this Effect:

CROMWELL. *My Lord* Whitlocke, *I know your Faithfulneſs and Engagement in the ſame good Cauſe with myſelf and the reſt of our Friends, and I know your Ability in Judgment, and your particular Friendſhip and Affection for me; indeed I am ſufficiently ſatisfied in theſe Things, and therefore I deſire to adviſe with you in the main and moſt important Affairs relating to our preſent Condition.*

WHIT-

WHITLOCKE. *Your Excellency hath known me long, and I think will say that you never knew any Unfaithfulness or Breach of Trust by me; and for my particular Affection to your Person, your Favours to me, and your publick Services, have deserved more than I can manifest; only there is, with your Favour, a Mistake in this one Thing, touching my weak Judgment, which is uncapable to do any considerable Service for yourself or this Commonwealth; yet, to the utmost of my Power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that with all Diligence and Faithfulness.*

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CROMWELL. *I have Cause to be; and am, without the least Scruple of your Faithfulness, and I know your Kindness to me your old Friend, and your Abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it: And I believe our Engagements for this Commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as most Men's; and there never was more Need of Advice, and solid hearty Counsel, than the present State of our Affairs doth require.*

WHITLOCKE. *I suppose no Man will mention his particular Engagement in this Cause, at the same Time when your Excellency's Engagement is remembered; yet to my Capacity, and in my Station, few Men have engaged further than I have done; and that (besides the Goodness of your own Nature and personal Knowledge of me) will keep you from any Jealousy of my Faithfulness.*

CROMWELL. *I wish there were no more Ground of Suspicion of others, than of you. I can trust you with my Life, and the most secret Matters relating to our Business; and to that End I have now desired a little private Discourse with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great Cause for us to consider the dangerous Condition we are all in, and how to make good our Station, to improve the Mercies and Successes which God hath given us; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in Pieces, by our particular Jarrings and Animosities one against another; but to unite our Counsels, and Hands and Hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much Hazard, Blood, and Treasure; and*

that,

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that, the Lord having given us an intire Conqueſt over our Enmies, we ſhould not now hazard all again by our private Janglings, and bring thoſe Miſchiefs upon ourſelves, which our Enemies could never do.

WHITLOCKE. *My Lord, I look upon our preſent Danger as greater than ever it was in the Field, and (as your Excellency truly obſerves) our Proneneſs to deſtroy ourſelves, when our Enemies could not do it. It is no ſtrange Thing for a gallant Army, as yours is, after full Conqueſt of their Enemies, to grow into Factions and ambitious Deſigns; and it is a Wonder to me that they are not in high Mutinies, their Spirits being active, and few thinking their Services to be duly rewarded, and the Emulation of the Officers breaking out daily more and more, in this Time of their Vacancy from their Employment; beſides, the private Soldiers, it may be feared, will, in this Time of their Idleneſs, grow into Diſorder; and it is your excellent Conduct which, under God, hath kept them ſo long in Diſcipline, and free from Mutinies.*

CROMWELL. *I have uſed, and ſhall uſe, the utmoſt of my poor Endeavours to keep them all in Order and Obedience.*

WHITLOCKE. *Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to Admiration.*

CROMWELL. *Truly God hath bleſſed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do ſo ſtill. Your Lordſhip hath obſerved moſt truly the Inclinations of the Officers of the Army to particular Factions, and to Murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their Deſerts; that others, who have adventured leaſt, have gained moſt; and they have neither Profit, nor Preferment, nor Place in Government, which others hold, who have undergone no Hardſhips nor Hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of Truth, yet their Inſolency is very great, and their Influence upon the private Soldiers works them to the like Diſcontents and Murmurings.*

Then as for the Members of Parliament, the Army begins to have a ſtrange Diſtaſte againſt them, and I wiſh there were not too much Cauſe for it; and really their

their Pride, and Ambition, and Self-ſeeking, ingroſſing all Places of Honour and Profit to themſelves and their Friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Parties and Factions; their Delays of Buſineſs, and Deſigns to perpetuate themſelves, and to continue the Power in their own Hands; their meddling in private Matters between Party and Party, contrary to the Inſtitution of Parliaments, and their Injuſtice and Partiality in thoſe Matters, and the ſcandalous Lives of ſome of the Chief of them; theſe Things, my Lord, do give too much Ground for People to open their Mouths againſt them, and to diſlike them. Nor can they be kept within the Bounds of Juſtice, Law, or Reaſon; they themſelves being the Supreme Power of the Nation, liable to no Account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other Power, there being none ſuperior, or co-ordinate with them: So that, unleſs there be ſome Authority and Power ſo full and ſo high as to reſtrain and keep Things in better Order, and that may be a Check to theſe Exorbitancies, it will be impoſſible, in human Reaſon, to prevent our Ruin.

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WHITLOCKE. *I confeſs the Danger we are in by theſe Extravagances and inordinate Powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that Part of it which concerns the Soldiery, your Excellency's Power and Commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and keep them in their due Obedience; and, bleſſed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your Wiſdom, you will be able ſtill to do it.*

As to the Members of Parliament, I confeſs the greateſt Difficulty lies there; your Commiſſion being from them, and they being acknowledged the Supreme Power of the Nation, ſubject to no Controuls, nor allowing any Appeal from them: Yet I am ſure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in thoſe Things you have mentioned, and many unfit Things have paſſed among them; but I hope well of the major Part of them, when great Matters come to a Deciſion.

CROM-

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CROMWELL. *My Lord, there is little Hopes of a good Settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of Fear, that they will deſtroy again what the Lord hath done graciouſly for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to Confuſion; and theſe Men will help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their Ways; ſome Courſe muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruined by them.*

WHITLOCKE. *We ourſelves have acknowledged them the Supreme Power, and taken our Commiſſions and Authority in the higheſt Concernments from them; and how to reſtrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a Way for it.*

CROMWELL. *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?*

WHITLOCKE. *I think that Remedy would be worſe than the Diſeaſe.*

CROMWELL. *Why do you think ſo?*

WHITLOCKE. *As to your own Perſon the Title of King would be of no Advantage, becauſe you have the full Kingly Power in you already, concerning the Militia, as you are General. As to the Nomination of Civil Officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed; and altho' you have no Negative Vote in the paſſing of Laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the Taxes are already ſettled, and in your Power to diſpoſe the Money raiſed. And as to Foreign Affairs, though the ceremonial Application be made to the Parliament, yet the Expectation of good or bad Succeſs in it is from your Excellency; and particular Solicitations of Foreign Miniſters are made to you only: So that I apprehend, indeed, leſs Envy and Danger, and Pomp, but not leſs Power, and real Opportunities of doing Good in your being General, than would be if you had aſſumed the Title of King.*

CROMWELL. *I have heard ſome of your Profeſſion obſerve, That he who is actually King, whether by Election or by Deſcent, yet being once King, all Acts done by him as King are as lawful and juſtifiable as by any King who hath the Crown by Inheri-*

tance

tance from his Forefathers: And that by an Act of Parliament in Henry *the Seventh's Time, it is ſafer for thoſe who act under a King, be his Title what it will, than for thoſe who act under any other Power. And ſurely the Power of a King is ſo great and high, and ſo univerſally underſtood and reverenced by the People of this Nation, that the Title of it might not only indemnify, in a great Meaſure, thoſe that act under it, but likewiſe be of great Uſe and Advantage in ſuch Times as theſe, to curb the Inſolences of thoſe whom the preſent Powers cannot controul, or at leaſt are the Perſons themſelves who are thus inſolent.* Inter-regnum. 1652. November.

WHITLOCKE. *I agree in the general what you are pleaſed to obſerve as to this Title of King; but whether for your Excellency to take this Title upon you, as Things now are, will be for the Good and Advantage either of yourſelf and Friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithſtanding that Act of Parliament,* 11. Hen. VII. *which will be little regarded, or obſerved to us by our Enemies, if they ſhould come to get the upper Hand of us.*

CROMWELL. *What do you apprehend would be the Danger of taking this Title?*

WHITLOCKE. *The Danger, I think, would be this: One of the main Points of Controverſy betwixt us and our Adverſaries is, whether the Government of this Nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and moſt of our Friends have engaged with us upon the Hopes of having the Government ſettled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their Hazards and Difficulties, they being perſuaded, though I think much miſtaken, that under the Government of a Commonwealth they ſhall enjoy more Liberty and Right, both as to their Spiritual and Civil Concernments, than they ſhall under Monarchy; the Preſſures and Diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in their Memories and Sufferings.*

Now if your Excellency ſhould take upon you the Title of King, this State of your Cauſe will be thereby wholly determined, and Monarchy eſtabliſhed in your

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your Perſon; and the Queſtion will be no more whether our Government ſhall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell *or* Stuart *ſhall be our King and Monarch.*

And that Queſtion, wherein before ſo great Parties of the Nation were engaged, and which was univerſal, will by this Means become, in effect, a private Controverſy only. Before it was National, What Kind of Government we ſhould have, now it will become particular, Who ſhall be our Governor, whether of the Family of the Stuarts, *or of the Family of the* Cromwells?

Thus the State of our Controverſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable Party) having their Hopes therein fruſtrated, will deſert you; your Hands will be weakened, your Intereſt ſtraitened, and your Cauſe in apparent Danger to be ruined.

CROMWELL. *I confeſs you ſpeak Reaſon in this; but what other Thing can you propound that may obviate the preſent Dangers and Difficulties wherein we are all engaged?*

WHITLOCKE. *It will be the greateſt Difficulty to find out ſuch an Expedient. I have had many Things in my private Thoughts upon this Buſineſs, ſome of which perhaps are not fit, or ſafe, for me to communicate.*

CROMWELL. *I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may truſt me with them; there ſhall no Prejudice come to you by any private Diſcourſe betwixt us; I ſhall never betray my Friend; you may be as free with me as with your own Heart, and ſhall never ſuffer by it.*

WHITLOCKE. *I make no Scruple to put my Life and Fortune into your Excellency's Hand; and ſo I ſhall, if I impart theſe Fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offenſive to your Excellency; therefore my beſt Way will be to ſmother them.*

CROMWELL. *Nay, I prithee, my Lord* Whitlocke, *let me know them; be they what they will they*

they cannot be offenſive to me, but I ſhall take it kindly from you: Therefore, I pray, do not conceal thoſe Thoughts of yours from your faithful Friend. Inter-regnum 1652. November.

WHITLOCKE. *Your Excellency honours me with a Title far above me; and ſince you are pleaſed to command it, I ſhall diſcover to you my Thoughts herein; and humbly deſire you not to take in ill Part what I ſhall ſay to you.*

CROMWELL. *Indeed I ſhall not; but I ſhall take it, as I ſaid, very kindly from you.*

WHITLOCKE. *Give me Leave then, firſt, to conſider your Excellency's Condition. You are inviron'd with ſecret Enemies: Upon your ſubduing of the public Enemy, the Officers of your Army account themſelves all Victors, and to have had an equal Share in the Conqueſt with you.*

The Succeſs which God hath given us hath not a little elated their Minds; and many of them are buſy and of turbulent Spirits, and are not without their Deſigns how they may diſmount your Excellency, and ſome of themſelves get up into the Saddle; how they may bring you down, and ſet up themſelves.

They want not Counſel and Encouragement herein; it may be from ſome Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your Power and Greatneſs, leſt you ſhould grow too high for them, and in Time over-maſter them; and they will plot to bring you down firſt, or to clip your Wings.

CROMWELL. *I thank you that you ſo fully conſider my Condition; it is a Teſtimony of your Love to me, and Care of me, and you have rightly conſidered it; and I may ſay without Vanity, that in my Condition yours is involved and all our Friends; and thoſe that plot my Ruin will hardly bear your Continuance in any Condition worthy of you. Beſides this, the Cauſe itſelf may poſſibly receive ſome Diſadvantage by the Strugglings and Contentions among ourſelves. But what, Sir, are your Thoughts for Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs that hang over our Heads?*

WHITLOCKE. *Pardon me, Sir, in the next Place, a little to conſider the Condition of the King of* Scots.

This

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This Prince being now by your Valour, and the Succeſs which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low Condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any Terms, whereby their loſt Hopes may be revived of his being reſtored to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country.

By a private Treaty with him you may ſecure yourſelf, and your Friends and their Fortunes; you may make yourſelf and your Poſterity as great and permanent, to all Human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and provide for your Friends. You may put ſuch Limits to Monarchical Power, as will ſecure our Spiritual and Civil Liberties, and you may ſecure the Cauſe in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the Power of the Militia continued in yourſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you.

I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to ſend to the King of Scots, *and to have a private Treaty with him for this Purpoſe; and I beſeech you to pardon what I have ſaid upon the Occaſion. It is out of my Affection and Service to your Excellency, and to all honeſt Men; and I humbly pray you not to have any Jealouſy thereupon of my approved Faithfulneſs to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.*

CROMWELL. *I have not, I aſſure you, the leaſt Diſtruſt of your Faithfulneſs and Friendſhip to me, and to the Cauſe of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much Reaſon for what you propound; but it is a Matter of ſo high Importance and Difficulty, that it deſerves more Time of Conſideration and Debate than is at preſent allowed us: We ſhall therefore take a further Time to diſcourſe of it.*

'With this, adds our *Memorialiſt*, the General brake off, and went to other Company, and ſo into *Whitehall*; ſeeming, by his Countenance and Carriage, diſpleaſed with what had been ſaid; yet he never objected it againſt Mr. *Whitlocke* in any public Meeting afterwards: Only his Carriage towards

wards him, from that Time, was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before; and it was not long after that he found an Occasion, by an honourable Employment *, to send him out of the Way, (as some of his nearest Relations, particularly his Daughter *Claypoole*, confessed) that he might be no Obstacle or Impediment to his ambitious Designs.' Inter-regnum 1652. December.

But to return.——

December. The Naval War with the *Dutch* still continuing, with various Success on both Sides, the Parliament here was much embarrassed to raise Money to carry it on. The Council of State was ordered by the House to take into Consideration in what Manner Money might be had and raised for this present Service, with all possible Expedition, out of any of the Treasuries, or by any other Way they should think fit, and report it to the House. The said Council were also impowered to set forth such Ships for the present Service, as they should think convenient and necessary; and the Act for impressing Seamen was ordered to be revived and continued for one Year. All which shew how much the Government was straitened to carry on this expensive War. The Parliament make vast Preparations for carrying on the *Dutch* War with Vigour,

But what made this Matter appear still plainer, was, that notwithstanding the almost immense Sums that were raised by the Sale of the Crown Lands, and the Estates of those who had followed the Fortune of it, they were necessitated to revive the Act for raising 120,000*l. per Mensem*, by way of Assessment, for six Months, from the 25th Inst. Eighty Thousand Pounds a Month, of this Sum, was to go towards Payment of the Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and the Residue of it for the Use of the Navy. The Proportions to be set upon the Counties for raising this Tax, were to be equal to the Rates formerly set in that Assessment. Six Commissioners were named, two of

* An Embassy into *Sweden*.

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the Houſe, two of the Council of State, and two out of the Houſe, who, together with the three Admirals, *Blake*, *Deane*, and *Moncke*, ſhould have the full Care, Inſpection, and directive Power, in providing and furniſhing every Thing for the Naval Service. The Commiſſioners of Exciſe were alſo ordered to permit each County to take the Exciſe in Farm; but not to lett it to particular Perſons.

The Treaty with the Deputies from *Scotland* ſtill went on; the Point they were now canvaſſing was the Proportion of Members for *Scotland* to ſit in the *Engliſh* Parliament and the Time of their Sitting; which was, at laſt, referred to the Committee for the new Repreſentative, to take the Number of thoſe Members into Conſideration, as well as thoſe for *Ireland*, which was now alſo a conquered Country, and under the Dominion of this Commonwealth.

The reſt of the Tranſactions in this Month are too inconſiderable for our Purpoſe; except we mention that the Houſe gave Audience, in Form, to ſome foreign Ambaſſadors from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and alſo to an Envoy from *France*; the firſt Time that Court thought proper to pay Compliment to this new Commonwealth. But it is obſervable that the *French* Miniſter's Credentials, the Sieur *De Bourdeaux*, being addreſſed thus, *A nos tres Chers et Grands Amis, le Gens du Parlement de la Republique d'*Angleterre, the Houſe ordered Sir *Oliver Flemyng*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, to let him know that the *French* King's Letter not being directed in the Style given to the Parliament in all Addreſſes from Foreign States and Princes, they could not take any Notice thereof: This Reſolution being communicated to the Envoy, he thought proper to conform to the Order of the Houſe, and afterwards ſent his Credentials to the Speaker, ſuperſcribed, *Au Parlement de la Republique d'*Angleterre. Whereupon he was admitted to an Audience, in the uſual Form.

Laſtly, Though the Parliament had forbid the Obſervation of *Chriſtmas* for ſome Years paſt, yet this

this Year they were more than ordinarily careful to abolish that Festival: For they order'd all the Markets and Shops in *London* and *Westminster* to be kept open on *Christmas-Day*, particularly those in *Westminster-Hall*; and that no Observation or Solemnity should be used in any Churches on that Day. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, and the Justices of the Peace, were also required to see this Order strictly observed. Inter-regnum. 1652. January.

January. The House began this Month with a very considerable Reduction of their Land-Forces, so as to lessen their Pay from the Monthly Sum of 80,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* a Month. This was done by Advice of the General and Officers of the Army with the Council of State, who had Power given them to make what other Alterations and Variations in the Army they should think fit. And reduce the Number of Land Forces.

Jan. 4. A long Day in the House: It was spent in making many Orders for planting of *Ireland* with Colonies from this Nation; and great Advantages were offered to those Persons, or Families, that would go over and settle there; all which is inserted at large, in the Proceedings of this Day, in the *Journals*.

Jan. 5. So many foreign Ambassadors and Envoys from Popish Princes were now in Town, that the State began to be jealous of their Followers. A Report was made from the Council, That great Numbers, as well *English* as others, did daily resort to Mass, at the Houses of Ambassadors and other foreign public Ministers residing here, to the great Dishonour of God, and Scandal to this Government. The House, on this, order'd, That it should be signified to the foreign Ministers to prohibit such Resorts to their Houses; and that a Reward of 10*l.* be paid upon the Conviction of every *English* Subject that should offend in this Particular. A Proclamation was also issued, commanding all *Jesuits* Orders against Resort to Mass at Ambassadors Chapels.

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and *Romiſh* Prieſts to depart out of *England* and *Wales* before the firſt of *March* next.

February.

The Parliament ended this Month with another Faſting and Humiliation Day, which was kept in the Houſe itſelf, no leſs than four Miniſters being appointed to preach and pray before them. The Occaſion of this Faſt was, 'To ſeek unto Almighty God for a Bleſſing upon the Councils of this Commonwealth, and upon their Forces by Sea and Land.

February. As the laſt Month ended with a Day of particular Humiliation by the Houſe itſelf, ſo this begins with an Order for a General Faſt to be ſtrictly kept, on the third of *March* next, throughout the whole Nation: But, before that Time, the Houſe had Occaſion to change their Faſting into Thanſgiving: For,

March 1. The following Letter, from the three Admirals of the Fleet, addreſs'd to the Speaker, was read in the Houſe. It is mentioned in the *Journals*, though not entered there; and we give it from the original Edition, printed by Authority of the Council of State.

Aboard the Triumph, Feb. 27, 1652,
in Stoke's *Bay*.

SIR,

A great Victory obtained over the *Dutch*, after an Engagement of three Days,

'ON the 18th Inſtant in the Morning, being ſome five Leagues diſtant from the *Engliſh* Shore, we deſcried the *Dutch* Fleet early in the Morning; conſiſting (as we then judged, and are ſince informed by ſome of their own Number) of 80, all Men of War, and ſome 200 Merchantmen; a League and an half to Windward of the weathermoſt of our Ships, and of moſt of the Fleet two or three Leagues.

'The Ship *Triumph*, with the *Fairfax*, *Speaker*, and about 20 more, being neareſt unto them, the *Dutch* Admiral might probably (if he had pleaſed to have kept the Wind) gone away with his whole Fleet; and we had not been able to have reached him

'him with our main Body, only with a few Fri- Inter-regnum.
'gates, our beſt Sailers, which had not been likely 1652.
'to have done very much upon them; but the ſaid March.
'Admiral, ſo ſoon as he had diſcovered us, put all
'his Merchantmen to Windward, and ordered
'them to ſtay there (as ſome that we have taken
'have ſince inform'd us) and himſelf, with his Body
'of Men of War, drew down upon us that were
'the weathermoſt Ships, where we were, in a ſhort
'Time, engaged; and, by reaſon the greateſt Part
'of our Ships were to Leeward, and much a-ſtern,
'thoſe that were weathermoſt had a very ſharp
'Conflict of it that whole Day, till about Four
'o'Clock in the Afternoon; by which Time a
'conſiderable Number of our Ships and Frigates
'had got ſo far a-head, that, by tacking, they could
'weather the greateſt Part of the *Dutch* Fleet;
'which ſo ſoon as the *Dutch* Admiral perceived,
'he tack'd likewiſe, and thoſe with him, and left
'us. We ſpent the Remainder of that Day and
'Night to man ourſelves out of the weaker Ships,
'and to repair our Rigging, Maſts, and Sails,
'without which we were not in a Capacity to
'move in the Sea. We took and deſtroyed, in
'this Day, ſeven or eight Men of War.

'They had Poſſeſſion of Capt. *Barker* in the
'*Proſperous*, Capt. *Bourne* in the *Aſſiſtance*, the *Oak*,
'and ſome other Ships; but, bleſſed be God, we
'repoſſeſſed them again, with the Loſs of ſome in
'the *Aſſiſtance*. The Leeward-moſt Part of our Ships
'continued fighting till Night ſeparated, being en-
'gaged within two Hours as ſoon as we. We loſt
'the *Sampſon*, whereof Capt. *Button* was Com-
'mander, which was ſo much torn and unſervice-
'able, the Captain and many Men wounded and
'ſlain, that we took out the Men that were left,
'and let her ſink into the Sea. At Night the
'*Dutch* Fleet and we kept as near one another as
'we could conveniently without mixing, each of
'us having our Lights abroad all Night. The
'Wind coming Weſterly, and little Wind, they
'ſteered directly up the Channel, their Merchant-

Inter-regnum. 1652. March.

'men a-head, and Men of War in the Rear; we 'were in the Morning ſome three or four Leagues 'to the Southward of the Iſle of *Wight*.

'On the 19th, as ſoon as it was Day, we made 'what Sail we could after them, but, being calm, 'could not get up untill Noon, and our main Body 'not untill Two of the Clock; by which Time 'we drew very near each other, and had warm 'Work while Night parted us. We took and de-'ſtroyed this Day ſome five Sail of Men of War. 'The *Dutch* Fleet ſteered up the Channel with 'their Lights abroad; we followed, the Wind at 'W. N. W. a fine little Gale all Night.

'On the 20th, about Nine in the Morning, we fell 'cloſe in with them, with ſome five great Ships, and 'all the Frigates of Strength, though very many 'others could not come up that Day; and ſeeing 'their Men of War ſomewhat weakened, we ſent 'ſmaller Frigates and Ships of leſs Force, that 'could get up amongſt the Merchantmen, which 'put their whole Body to a very great Trouble, ſo 'that many of them, and their Men of War, began 'to break off from their main Body; and towards 'the Evening we preſſed ſo hard upon them, that 'they turn'd their Merchantmen out of their Fleet 'upon us (as is conceived) for a Bait; but we gave 'ſtrict Order, that none of our Ships that could get 'up to their Men of War, and had Force, ſhould 'meddle with any Merchantmen, but leave them 'to the Rear. We continued ſtill fighting with 'them untill the Duſk of the Evening, by which 'Time we were ſome three Leagues and a half off 'Blackneſs, in *France*, the Wind at North-Weſt, 'we ſteering directly for the Point of Land, ha-'ving the Wind of the *Dutch* Fleet; ſo that if it 'had pleaſed the Lord in his wiſe Providence, who 'ſets Bounds to the Sea, and over-rules the Ways 'and Actions of Men, that it had been but 'three Hours longer to Night, we had probably 'made an Interpoſition between them and home; 'whereby they might have been obliged to have 'made their Way through us with their Men of

'War

'War, which at this Time were not above 35 as 'we could count, the reſt being deſtroyed or 'diſperſed. The Merchantmen alſo muſt have 'been neceſſitated to have run a-ſhore, or fallen 'into our Hands; which, as we conceive, the '*Dutch* Admiral being ſenſible of, juſt as it was 'dark, bore directly in upon the Shore, where it 'is ſuppoſed he anchored, the Tide of Ebb being 'then come, which was a Leewardly Tide. We 'conſulted with our Pilots, and Men knowing thoſe 'Coaſts, what it was poſſible for the Enemy to do; 'whoſe Opinions were, That he could not wea-'ther the *French* Shore, as the Tide and the Wind 'then was, to get home, and that we muſt like-'wiſe anchor, or we could not be able to carry it 'about the Flats of the *Soame*; whereupon we an-'chored, *Blackneſs* being N. E. and by E. three 'Leagues from us. Inter-regnum. 1652. March.

'This Night being very dark, and blowing hard, 'the *Dutch* got away from us; ſo that in the Morn-'ing of the 21ſt we could not diſcover one Ship 'more than our own, which were betwixt forty 'and fifty, the reſt being ſcattered, and as many 'Prizes as made up ſixty in all. We ſpent all this 'Night and Day, while twelve o'Clock, in fitting 'of our Ships, Maſts, and Sails, for we were not 'capable to ſtir till they were repaired; at which 'Time, being a windward Tide and the *Dutch* 'Fleet gone, we weighed and ſtood over to the '*Engliſh* Shore, fearing to ſtay longer upon the 'Coaſt, being a Lee-Shore.

'On the 22d, in the Morning, we were fair by 'the Iſle of *Wight*, being the Place whereunto we 'then thought fit to repair for Accommodation; 'but the Wind blew ſo hard Northwardly we 'could not get in that Day.

'The 23d we weighed, and got near *St. He-'len*'s Road, and ſent for all the Captains on 'board to underſtand the State of the Fleet, but 'it blowing hard, we were not able to accompliſh 'it; only we commanded all the Ships that were

'diſ-

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'disabled to turn into *Stoke*'s Bay, and the reſt remained about us.

'The 24th we ſent for all the Captains on board 'of this Ship, and ordered out two Squadrons, one 'to ply to the Eaſtward, the other to the Weſt-'ward, of the Iſle of *Wight*: The laſt of which 'ſailed the 25th preſent.

'It hath blown ſo hard, we have ſcarce been 'able to ſend our Boats one from another, or do any 'Thing till this Day that we got up to this Place.

'Thus you ſee how it hath pleaſed the Lord to 'deal with us, poor unworthy Inſtruments, em-'ployed in this late Tranſaction, wherein he hath 'delivered into our Hands ſome ſeventeen or eigh-'teen of their Ships of War, which have been 'by your Fleet (without the Loſs of any one Ship, 'ſave the *Sampſon*) taken and deſtroyed; beſides 'Merchantmen, whoſe Number we know not, 'they being ſcattered to ſeveral Ports.

'We have many Men wounded, and divers 'both of Honeſty and Worth ſlain.

Subſcribed, { ROBERT BLAKE, RICHARD DEANE, GEORGE MONCKE.

P. S. 'Several of the *Dutch* are driven aſhore 'in *France*, one without any Men at all in her.'

For which the Parliament order a Thankſgiving to God throughout the whole Commonwealth.

In conſequence of this great Victory over the *Dutch*, the Houſe ordered that Thanks be given to Almighty God, the next Lord's Day, throughout *London* and *Weſtminſter*. The Speaker was alſo directed to write a Letter of Congratulation to each of the three Admirals, taking Notice of the Parliament's Reſentment of their great and faithful Services in the late Engagement, with Thanks to them and the ſeveral Commanders under them: And a Collection was ordered to be made in the Houſe, for the Widows of Sailors kill'd in the Action.

Soon after a Day of public Thankſgiving was appointed for this Victory, to be kept on the 12th of

of *April*, 1653, and obſerved throughout the whole Commonwealth. Inter-regnum. 1652.

The *Dutch* were ſo exaſperated for their ill Succeſs in the late Battle againſt the *Engliſh* Nation; and their Enmity, ſays *Ludlow*, grew to ſuch a Height, that, to render them odious, and encourage their own Subjects to come in and fight againſt them, they cauſed the Execution of the late King to be repreſented publickly on a Stage, in a moſt tragical Manner. But, however that was, it is certain that the *Engliſh* Fleet were generally too hard for the *Dutch*; and, excepting ſome Prejudice the former received from the other in two Encounters in the *Levant* Seas, about this Time, they beat them where-ever they met them. March.

March 2. The Houſe having reſumed the Debate upon the Amendments to the Act for appointing a certain Time for the Diſſolution of this preſent Parliament, and for calling and ſettling of future and ſucceſſive Parliaments, they reſolved, That 30 Members from *Scotland*, and no more, be allowed to ſit in the *Engliſh* Parliament, with the ſame Number from *Ireland*. The Number propoſed to repreſent the former was 33, and the latter 37; and this Motion was over-ruled by a Majority of only 28 againſt 26. Further Proceedings on the Bill for diſſolving the Parliament.

March 9. The Debate on theſe Amendments was again renewed; when the Houſe began to name the Number of Repreſentatives each County and City were to ſend to Parliament; for many of the Boroughs were to be laid aſide, or reduced in the Number they uſed to return. They continued to go on with this Bill every *Wedneſday*, and made many Regulations and Alterations therein, *vice verſâ*, without going through one third Part of the Nation: But as this whole Model was purſued and compleated in the Election of *Cromwell*'s ſecond Parliament, we ſhall therefore poſtpone a Deſcription of it till we come to that Period, which is at no great Diſtance from us.

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A Committee of Parliament had long been ſitting on what was called receiving Propoſals for the Propagation of the Goſpel: And having collected a Number, they laid them before the Houſe this Month; the Particulars of which are too curious to be omitted.

Propoſals for the Propagation of the Goſpel.

1. 'That Perſons of Godlineſs and Gifts, of the Univerſities, and others, though not ordained, may be admitted to preach the Goſpel, and receive the public Maintenance, being approv'd when they are call'd thereunto.

2. 'That no Perſon ſhall be admitted to Trial and Approbation, unleſs he bring a Teſtimonial of his Piety and Soundneſs in the Faith, under the Hands of ſix godly Miniſters and Chriſtians, gathered together for that End and Purpoſe, unto whom he is perſonally known; of which Number, two at the leaſt to be Miniſters.

3. 'That a certain Number of Perſons, Miniſters, and others, of Eminency and known Ability and Godlineſs, be appointed to ſit in every County, to examine, judge, and approve all ſuch Perſons, as, being called to preach the Goſpel, have received Teſtimonials as above; and in caſe there ſhall not be found a competent Number of ſuch Perſons in the ſame County, that others, of one or more Neighbour Counties, be joined to them.

4. 'That Care be taken for removing the Reſidue of Miniſters, who are ignorant, ſcandalous, Non-Reſidents, or Diſturbers of the Public Peace; and likewiſe of all Schoolmaſters, who ſhall be found popiſh, ſcandalous, or diſaffected to the Government of this Commonwealth.

5. 'That, to this End, a Number of Perſons, Miniſters, and others, of eminent Piety, Zeal, Faithfulneſs, Ability, and Prudence, be appointed, by Authority of Parliament, to go thro' the Nation, to inquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be found unfit for the Miniſtry, or teaching Schools, being ſuch as above are deſcribed.

6. 'That

Inter-regnum 1652. Ma.

6. 'That, for the expediting this Work, theſe Perſons may be aſſigned in ſeveral Companies, or Committees, to the ſix Circuits of the Nation, to reſide in each of the Counties, for ſuch a convenient Space of Time as ſhall be requiſite, untill the Work be done; calling to their Aſſiſtance, in their reſpective Circuits, ſuch godly and able Perſons, Miniſters and others, in each of the Counties where they ſhall then reſide, to aſſiſt them in this Work, as they ſhall think fit: That theſe Perſons, ſo ſent and commiſſionated, may be impowered, before they ſhall depart out of each County, to return, and to repreſent, to the Parliament, the Names of fit and ſufficient Perſons, Miniſters, and others, to be appointed Approvers of ſuch as ſhall be called to preach the Goſpel in ſuch Counties; and that, in the mean Time, the Perſons ſo commiſſionated as aforeſaid ſhall have Power, while they reſide in each County, to examine, judge, and approve of ſuch Perſons, as, having a Call to preach the Goſpel in ſuch County, ſhall, upon ſuch Teſtimonial as aforeſaid, offer themſelves to ſuch Examination.

7. 'That it be propoſed that the Parliament be pleaſed to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe, either by impowering the Perſons in the ſeveral Counties, to be appointed for Trial and Approbation of ſuch Perſons as ſhall be called to preach the Goſpel there, or in ſuch other Way as they ſhall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of Pariſhes in the ſeveral Counties and Cities within this Commonwealth, in reference to the preaching the Goſpel there, ſaving the Civil Rights and Privileges of each Pariſh.

8. 'That the Miniſters, ſo ſent forth and eſtabliſhed, be injoined and required to attend the ſolemn Worſhip of God, in Prayer, Reading, and Preaching the Word, Catechiſing, expounding the Scriptures; and, as Occaſion ſhall require, viſiting the Sick, and inſtructing from Houſe to Houſe; reſiding amongſt the People to whom they are ſent, and

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and using all Care and Diligence, by all Ways and Means, to win Souls unto *Christ*.

9. 'That as it is desired that no Persons be required to receive the Sacraments further than their Light shall lead them unto, so no Person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed, in any Parish within this Nation, be compelled to administer the Sacraments to any but such as he shall approve of as fit for the same.

10. 'That a Law may be provided, That all Persons whatsoever, within this Nation, be requir'd to attend unto the public Preaching of the Gospel, and other religious Exercises there every Lord's Day, in Places commonly allowed, and usually called Churches, except such Persons as, through Scruple of Conscience, do abstain from those Assemblies: Provided that this Liberty be not understood to exempt Persons profanely, or otherwise wickedly, employed in the Time of the said Exercises.

11. 'That whereas divers Persons are not satisfied to come to the public Places of hearing the Word, upon this Account, That those Places were dedicated and consecrated, the Parliament will be pleased to declare, That such Places are made Use of, and continued, only for the better Conveniency of Persons meeting together for the public Worship of God, and upon no other Consideration.

12. 'That all Persons dissenting to the Doctrine and Way of Worship owned by the State, or consenting thereunto, and yet not having the Advantage or Opportunity of some of the public Meeting-Places, commonly called Churches, be required to meet (if they have any constant Meeting) in Places publickly known, and to give Notice unto some Magistrate of such their Place of ordinary Meetings.

13. 'That this Honourable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, That such who do not receive, but oppose, those Principles of Christian Religion, without the Acknowledgment whereof

whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that Salvation is not to be obtained, (as thoſe formerly complained of by the Miniſters) may not be ſuffered to preach or promulgate any Thing in Oppoſition unto ſuch Principles. Inter-regnum. 1652. March.

'And further, That the Parliament be humbly deſired to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for the utter ſuppreſſing of that abominable Cheat of Judicial Aſtrology; whereby the Minds of Multitudes are corrupted, and turned aſide, from Dependency upon the Providence of God, to put their Truſt in the Lyes of Men, and Deluſions of Satan.'

The Diſquiſition of all theſe Particulars (which were recommended to the Conſideration of the Parliament by ſeveral Officers of the Army, and Miniſters, whoſe Names are entered in the *Journals*) had afforded ſeveral Months Employment for the Committee: And upon the Report thereof to the Houſe they reſolved, 'That the Magiſtrate hath Power, in Matters of Religion, for the Propagation of the Goſpel.' They altered the firſt Propoſal thus,

Reſolved, 'That Perſons of Godlineſs and Gifts, of the Univerſities, and others, though not ordained, that ſhall be approved, ſhall receive the Public Maintenance for preaching the Goſpel.'

They agreed to the Second and Third, leaving out the Word *Eminency* in the latter: But made no farther Progreſs in theſe Propoſals, occaſioned, we ſuppoſe, by the ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Some Time ſince the Parliament had ordered, That *Henry Stuart*, commonly call'd Duke of *Glouceſter*, youngeſt Son of the late King, ſhould be releaſed from *Cariſbrooke-Caſtle*, in the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſent to *Dunkirk*: On the 17th of this Month they received Advice of his being arrived at *Breda*, where he was moſt affectionately received by his Siſter the Princeſs Royal, Dowager of *Orange*. The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent out of the Kingdom.

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Orange.—The Reader may remember Sir *Thomas Widdrington*'s Propoſal, at the Conference held in *November*, 1651, touching this young Prince; which very probably induced *Cromwell* to get him ſent abroad, by which Means there was left one Obſtacle leſs in the Way of his Ambition.

The *Dutch* ſue for Peace.

The *Dutch* having been heartily drubb'd in their laſt Naval Engagement, ſeem now to lower their Top-ſails, and ſue for Peace. To that End we are told, by the *Journals*, that Mynheer *Pawe*'s private Secretary was ſent over with a Letter from the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frizeland* to the Parliament; on which Occaſion the Houſe ordered the Council of State to prepare an Anſwer thereto, and a Letter addreſs'd to the *States General*, both in *Latin*, for the Parliament's Approbation; which was done accordingly, and ſent away by a ſpecial Meſſenger: But theſe Letters imported no more than a general Intimation of the Parliament's good Diſpoſition to Peace upon proper Terms.

We ſhall conclude the Proceedings of this Year with an Account of ſuch Acts paſſed worth our Notice, of which no Mention has been made under their reſpective Series. They were theſe:

Acts paſſed in the Year 1652.

An Act *For prohibiting the Planting of Tobacco in* England: The Premable ſets forth, 'That great Quantities of Tobacco being planted in ſeveral Parts of *England*, tended to the Decay of Huſbandry and Tillage, the Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Plantations, and of the Commerce and Navigation of the Commonwealth: Therefore it was enacted, That no Perſon ſhould, after the 1ſt of *May*, 1652, plant or cure any Tobacco in any Ground whatſoever in this Nation, on Forfeiture of 20*s*. for every Pole or Rod of Ground ſo employed; one Moiety thereof to the Uſe of the Commonwealth, and the other to the Diſcoverer or Proſecutor; and that it ſhould be lawful for any Perſon to grub up and deſtroy all ſuch Tobacco.'

An

An Act *For the ſettling of* Ireland: The Purport of which was, 'That the Parliament having now totally reduced that Nation to their Obedience, had no Intention to extirpate the Natives thereof: But that Mercy and Pardon, both as to Life and Eſtate, ſhould be extended to them, under certain Reſtrictions and Qualifications laid down in the Act, except ſuch as had been any ways concerned in the Maſſacres and Murders in the Rebellion of 1641, all *Romiſh* Prieſts or *Jeſuits*, alſo *James* Earl of *Ormond*, and many other Perſons of Quality, whoſe Names are particularized; and all ſuch who ſhould not, within 28 Days after the Publication of the Act by the Parliament's Commiſſioners, or their Commander in Chief, in *Ireland*, lay down their Arms. Others were to forfeit two Thirds of their Eſtates, and be baniſhed; the remaining Third to be paid to their Wives and Children'—But as we have already given the Parliament's Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners for the Settlement of *Ireland*, a farther Abſtract of this Act is unneceſſary. Inter-regnum. 1652. March.

An Act *For requiring all Seamen to return home from the Service of Foreign States, and not to ſerve abroad without Licenſe:* Hereby it was enacted, 'That all Shipwrights and Mariners ſhould return home from *France* and *Holland* within ten Weeks, from the *Weſt-Indies* in one Year, and the *Eaſt-Indies* in two, upon Pain of Death: But Impeachments for any Offence againſt this Act were to be proſecuted within one Year after the Offender's Return; and his Oath, in his own Excuſe, to be admitted: And all Shipwrights and Mariners, taken in Service againſt the Commonwealth, to be liable to the ſevereſt Penalties of the Law.

An Act *For ſuppreſſing unlicenſed and ſcandalous Books:* By this Act that of the 20th of *September*, 1649[w], *For regulating of Printing*, was revived; and the Council of State was impower'd to continue, or ſuppreſs, what Printing-Houſes they thought proper, and to appoint what Number of Apprentices and Preſſes each Maſter Printer ſhould keep: That

[w] See our Nineteenth Volume, p. 170.

Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

That none ſhould exerciſe the Myſtery of Printing, but ſuch as were licenſed by the Parliament or Council of State, or claimed a Privilege thereto by Patrimonial Right, or ſerving an Apprenticeſhip of ſeven Years, and exerciſed the ſame in their reſpective Dwelling-Houſes, and not elſewhere, under the Penalty of 40*l.* for every Month, and ſo proportionably for any ſhorter or longer Time: That no Importer of Books ſhould open the ſame, but in the Preſence of the Maſter and Wardens of the Stationers Company, or whom they ſhould appoint, under the Penalty of 5*l.* for every Offence; and all Books ſeized to be brought to Stationers Hall: That all Forfeitures might be ſued for in any Court of Record, and if recovered by the Proſecution of the ſaid Company of Stationers, one Moiety thereof, after deducting Charges of Recovery, to be applied to the Relief of their Poor; but if by the Proſecution of any other Perſon, one Moiety to go to his own Uſe; and the other Moiety, in both Caſes, to be forfeited to the Commonwealth: That the Council of State ſhould have the like Power as contained in the former Act; and that the Agent for the Army (inſtead of the Secretary as formerly) ſhould have Power to licenſe ſuch Intelligence as concern'd the Affairs of the Army only. And it was provided that no Clauſe, in this or the former Act, ſhould extend to the Infringement of the juſt Rights and Privileges of the Printers of either Univerſity.

1653.

April. This long-lived Parliament was now drawing very near its End, which was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that few of its Members were the leaſt aware of it. The Houſe had paſs'd an Act *For appointing Commiſſioners for Probate of Wills, and granting Adminiſtrations throughout* England *and* Wales: The Profits ariſing whereby, after Deduction of Officers Salaries, to be applied to the Uſe of the Navy; and were going on with the Election Bill, and ſome others of leſs Significancy; when

When on the 19th of this Month, after Debate on a Bill for ſettling the Claims of the Adventurers for *Ireland*, on a ſudden the *Printed Journals* break off without any Notice taken of the Occaſion; only we are told by the Publiſher of them in a marginal Note, That there did an Entry follow; but againſt it was written, in the Margin of the Original, *This Entry was expunged, by Order of Parliament*, January 7, 1659.——In looking forwards into the *Journal* of that Day, we meet with the following Paſſage: 'Whereas this Houſe do find an Entry in the *Journal-Book* of the 20th of *April*, 1653, in theſe Words, *This Day his Excellency the Lord-General diſſolved this Parliament*; which was done without Conſent of Parliament; this Houſe doth declare the ſame to be a Forgery; and do order Mr. *Scobell* to be ſent for to the Bar to anſwer it.'——Mr. *Scobell* ſoon after appearing there, the Entry in the *Journal* was ſhewn him, and being aſk'd Who made it? He acknowledged, That it was his own Hand-Writing, and that he did it without the Direction of any Perſon whatever. The Houſe then ordered the Entry to be expunged out of the *Journal*, and referred it to a Committee to conſider whether the then late Act of Indemnity extended to pardon that Offence, and report their Opinion of it to the Houſe.

Inter-regnum 1653. April.

Gen. *Cromwell* comes to the Parliament-Houſe, and turns the Members out of Doors.

This is all we can pick out of the *Journals*, relating to this moſt remarkable Tranſaction; but ſince the Reader's Curioſity may require a more explicit Account of it, we ſhall give a Narrative of the Manner of this Parliament's being diſmiſſed, from a *Diary*[x] of equal Authority, in our Opinion, to that of the *Journals* themſelves; being publiſh'd at the very Time of Action, and licenſed by Mr. *Scobell*, Clerk of the Houſe.—It runs thus:

'The Officers of the Army have, for ſixteen Weeks paſt, or more, uſed all poſſible Means to have perſuaded the Parliament to have paſſed ſuch

x *Several Proceedings in Parliament, and other Intelligence and Affairs, from* Thurſday *the* 14*th of* April, *to* Thurſday *the* 21*ſt of* April, 1653. Printed *for Robert Ibbetſon*, N°. 186.

Inter-regnum. 1653. April. Things as might be for the common Good, and propoſed the Particulars to them; then many endeavoured to preſent Petitions from ſeveral Parts of the Nation to the Officers, but they refuſed to meddle, leaving it to the Parliament, deſiring that all might be acted by them. The Officers uſed all private Means to perſuade them, as they had Occaſion from Time to Time, telling them, *How the Country-People did expect it*; and, after all that, ſent a Letter, and had Meetings with divers whom they looked upon as moſt ready to promote the public Good; and at one Time met with almoſt thirty, and endeavoured to engage them to act therein; giving them Reaſons for the paſſing of thoſe Things which they propoſed, for the general Good of the People: But the Members only anſwered, *That when they were in Parliament they had Liberty of their Yeas and their Noes.*

'The laſt Night before this Diſmiſſion, there were near twenty Members of Parliament with the General, to whom the Danger of the Act, for calling a new Repreſentative, was declared, as the Houſe was about to paſs it; it giving ſo much Liberty, that many diſaffected Perſons might be choſen; and by the ſaid Act theſe preſent Members were to ſit and to be made up by others choſen, and by themſelves approved of: Hereupon they engaged not to meddle with it this Day; and when Major-General *Harriſon* ſaw, this Morning, that they fell upon it, he moſt ſweetly and humbly deſired them to lay it aſide, ſhewing them the Danger of it: But they going on, the Lord-General's Excellency required them to depart the Houſe; and Lieutenant-Colonel *Worſley*, with ſome Soldiers, came in and ordered the Houſe to be cleared; took the Mace away, and cauſed the Houſe to be locked up.

'The next Day there was a Paper, by ſomebody, poſted upon the Parliament-Houſe Door, thus:

This Houſe is to be Lett, now unfurniſhed.

Upon which the Author of the *Narrative* makes this

this Remark, 'That those who abuse the Godly of the late Members of Parliament, without a Cause, will not be approved therein; some being such for Piety and Worth, as probably may be Governors of the Nation again.' Interregnum. 1653. April.

To this *Narrative* may be very properly subjoined what the Contemporary Writers have left us concerning this Affair:

And first Mr. *Whitlocke*, who being a very active Member of this Parliament, was probably an Eye-Witness of its Dissolution. This Gentleman writes thus [x]:

'On the 19th of *April* there having been a great Meeting at *Cromwell*'s Lodgings at *Whitehall*, of Parliament Men, and several Officers of the Army, sent to by *Cromwell* to be there; and a large Discourse and Debate having been amongst them touching some Expedient to be found out, for the present carrying on of the Government of the Commonwealth, and putting a Period to this present Parliament, it was offered by divers, as a most dangerous Thing to dissolve the present Parliament, and to set up any other Government; and that it would neither be warrantable in Conscience or Wisdom so to do; yet none of them express'd themselves so freely to that Purpose as Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and *Whitlocke* then did.

'Of the other Opinion, as to putting a Period forthwith to this Parliament, *St. John* was one of the chief, and many more with him, and generally all the Officers of the Army; who stuck close in this likewise to their General.

'And the better to make Way for themselves and their ambitious Design of advancing them to the Civil Government, as well as they were in the Military Power, they and their Party declared their Opinions, That it was necessary the same should be done one Way or other, and the Members of Parliament not permitted to prolong their own Power.

[x] *Memorials*, p. 529.

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'At which Expreſſion *Cromwell* ſeem'd to reprove ſome of them; and this Conference laſted till late at Night, when *Widdrington* and *Whitlocke* went home weary, and troubled to ſee the Indiſcretion and Ingratitude of thoſe Men, and the Way they deſign'd to ruin themſelves; therefore theſe came early again the next Morning, according to Appointment, to *Cromwell*'s Lodging, where there were but a few Parliament Men, and a few Officers of the Army.

'A Point was again ſtirred, which had been debated the Night before, 'Whether 40 Perſons, or 'about that Number of Parliament Men and Of-'ficers of the Army, ſhould be nominated by the 'Parliament, and impowered for the managing 'the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a new Par-'liament ſhould meet, and ſo the preſent Parlia-'ment to be forthwith diſſolv'd.'

'*Whitlocke* was againſt this Propoſal, and the more, fearing leſt he might be one of theſe forty; who, he thought, would be in a deſperate Condition after the Parliament ſhould be diſſolved: But others were very ambitious to be of this Number and Council, and to be inveſted with this exorbitant Power in them.

'*Cromwell* being inform'd, during this Debate, that the Parliament was ſitting, and that it was hop'd they would put a Period to themſelves; which would be the moſt honourable Diſſolution for them: Hereupon he broke off the Meeting, and the Members of Parliament with him left him at his Lodging, went to the Houſe, and found them in Debate of an Act, the which would occaſion other Meetings of them again, and prolong their Sitting.

'Thereupon Col. *Ingoldſby* went back to *Cromwell*, and told him what the Houſe were doing; who was ſo enraged thereat, expecting they ſhould have medled with no other Buſineſs but putting a Period to their own Sitting without more Delay, that he preſently commanded ſome of the Officers of the Army to fetch a Party of Soldiers, with whom

whom he marched to the Houſe, and led a File of Muſketeers in with him; the reſt he placed at the Door of the Houſe, and in the Lobby before it. Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

'In this Manner entering the Houſe, he, in a furious Manner, bid the Speaker leave his Chair; told the Houſe 'That they had ſat long enough, 'unleſs they had done more Good; that ſome of 'them were Whoremaſters, (looking then towards '*Henry Martyn* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*) that 'others of them were Drunkards, and ſome cor-'rupt and unjuſt Men, and ſcandalous to the Pro-'feſſion of the Goſpel; and that it was not fit 'they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and 'deſired them to go away.'

'The Speaker not ſtirring from his Seat, Colonel *Harriſon*, who ſat near the Chair, roſe up and took him by the Arm, to remove him from his Seat; which when the Speaker ſaw he left his Chair.

'Some of the Members roſe up to anſwer *Cromwell*'s Speech, but he would ſuffer none to ſpeak but himſelf; which he did with ſo much Arrogance in himſelf, and Reproach to his Fellow Members, that ſome of his Privadoes were aſhamed of it: But he, and his Officers and Party, would have it ſo; and among all the Parliament Men, of whom many wore Swords, and would ſometimes brag high, not one Man offered to draw his Sword againſt *Cromwell*, or to make the leaſt Reſiſtance againſt him; but all of them tamely departed the Houſe.

'He bid one of his Soldiers to take away that Fool's Bauble, the Mace; and ſtayed himſelf to ſee all the Members out of the Houſe, himſelf the laſt of them, and then cauſed the Doors of the Houſe to be ſhut up.'

The next is Mr. *Ludlow*'s Account, who was alſo a Member of this Parliament: But at the Time when the Diſſolution happened was in *Ireland*, being one of the Commiſſioners for ſettling

Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

the Affairs of that Kingdom. This Circumſtance enables us to account for one Miſtake, where he ſays, That the Parliament was reſolved to paſs an Act for their own immediate Diſſolution; but it does not appear ſo by the *Journals*, or that they intended it ſooner than by a former Reſolution (which fix'd the Period thereof to *Nov.* 3, 1654) they were obliged to do: For though they continued their Debates on the Election Bill, weekly, yet theſe were more about regulating the Numbers that were to ſit in future Parliaments, and what Places ſhould return Members, than about their own Diſſolution, for which no Queſtion was ever put, in the Houſe. Allowing this, the following Teſtimony of Mr. *Ludlow* may be good, though it differs in other Matters alſo from the former [y].

'The Parliament now perceiving to what Kind of Exceſſes the Madneſs of the Army was like to carry them, reſolved to leave, as a Legacy to the People, the Government of the Commonwealth by their Repreſentatives, when aſſembled in Parliament; and, in the Intervals thereof, by a Council of State, choſen by them, and to continue till the Meeting of the next ſucceeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an Account of their Conduct and Management. To this End they reſolved, without any further Delay, to paſs the Act for their own Diſſolution; of which *Cromwell* having Notice, makes Haſte to the Houſe, where he ſat down and heard the Debate ſome Time: Then calling to Major-General *Harriſon*, who was on the other Side of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, 'That he judged the Parliament ripe 'for a Diſſolution, and this to be the Time of do-'ing it.' The Major anſwered, as he ſince told me, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it before you engage in it. You ſay well*, replied the General, and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a Quarter of an Hour; and then the Queſtion for paſſing the Bill being to be put, he ſaid again to Major-General *Har-*

[y] *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 455, *et ſeq.*

Harriſon, This is the Time: I muſt do it; and, ſuddenly ſtanding up, he made a Speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vileſt Reproaches, charging them, 'not to have a Heart to do any 'Thing for the Public Good; to have eſpouſed 'the corrupt Intereſt of Preſbytery and the Lawyers, 'who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Op'preſſion; accuſing them of an Intention to perpe'tuate themſelves in Power, had they not been 'forced to the paſſing of this Act, which he af'firm'd they deſign'd never to obſerve; and there'upon told them, that the Lord had done with 'them, and had choſen other Inſtruments for car'rying on his Work that were more worthy.' This he ſpake with ſo much Paſſion and Diſcompoſure of Mind, as if he had been diſtracted. Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

'Sir *Peter Wentworth* ſtood up to anſwer him, and ſaid, 'That this was the firſt Time that ever 'he had heard ſuch unbecoming Language given to 'the Parliament; and that it was the more horrid 'in that it came from their Servant, and their Ser'vant whom they had ſo highly truſted and obliged:' But as he was going on, the General ſtept into the Midſt of the Houſe, where, continuing his diſtracted Language, he ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an End to your Prating*; then walking up and down the Houſe like a Mad-man, and kicking the Ground with his Feet, he cried out, *You are no Parliament; I ſay you are no Parliament: I will put an End to your Sitting: Call them in, call them in:* Whereupon the Serjeant attending the Parliament, open'd the Doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Worſley*, with two Files of Muſketeers, enter'd the Houſe; which Sir *Henry Vane* obſerving from his Place, ſaid aloud, *This is not honeſt; yea, it is againſt Morality and common Honeſty.* Then *Cromwell* fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud Voice, *O Sir* Henry Vane, *Sir* Henry Vane, *the Lord deliver me from Sir* Henry Vane. Then looking upon one of the Members, he ſaid, *There ſits a Drunkard*; and giving much reviling Language to others, he

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he commanded the Mace to be taken away, saying, *What shall we do with this Bauble? Here, take it away.* Having brought all into this Disorder, Major-General *Harrison* went to the Speaker as he sat in the Chair, and told him, 'That seeing Things 'were reduced to this Pass, it would not be con-'venient for him to remain there.' The Speaker answered, 'That he would not come down unless 'he were forced.' *Sir*, said *Harrison*, *I will lend you my Hand*; and thereupon putting his Hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then *Cromwell* applied himself to the Members of the House, who were in Number between 80 and 100, and said to them, *It is you that have forced me to this, for I have fought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this Work.* Hereupon Alderman *Allen*, a Member of Parliament, told him, 'That it was not yet gone 'so far, but all Things might be restored again; 'and that if the Soldiers were commanded out of 'the House, and the Mace returned, the public Af-'fairs might go on in their former Course.' But *Cromwell* having now pass'd the Rubicon, not only rejected his Advice, but charged him with an Account of some hundred thousand Pounds, for which he threatened to question him, having been long Treasurer for the Army; and in a Rage committed him to the Custody of one of the Muskeeteers. Alderman *Allen* told him, 'That it was well 'known that it had not been his Fault that his 'Account was not made up long since; that he 'had often tendered it to the House; and that he 'asked no Favour from any Man in that Matter.'

"*Cromwell* having acted this treacherous and impious Part, ordered the Guard to see the House clear'd of all the Members; and then seiz'd upon the Records that were there, and at Mr. *Scobell*'s House. After which he went to the Clerk, and snatching the Act of Dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his Hand, he put it under his Cloak; and, having commanded the Doors to be lock'd up, went away to *Whitehall*."

Crom-

Cromwell having thus diſpatched this grand Affair, and depoſed the late Lords and Maſters at *Weſtminſter*, from their Dominion and Sovereignty in this Nation, went in the Afternoon of the ſame Day to the Place where the Council of State uſually ſat, and finding many of them there, he accoſted them thus: *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private Perſons, you ſhall not be diſturb'd; but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you: And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe in the Morning, ſo take Notice that the Parliament is diſſolved.* To this Serjeant *Bradſhaw* anſwered, *Sir, we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the Morning, and before many Hours all* England *will know it: But, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolved; for no Power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you Notice of that.* Something more was ſaid to the ſame Purpoſe, by Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Scott*; but all of them, perceiving themſelves to be under the ſame Violence, thought proper to withdraw.

Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

The next Step our Hero took was to iſſue out, in his own Name and his Council of Officers, the following Declaration of the Grounds and Reaſons for diſſolving the Parliament [z].

Whitehall, April 22, 1653.

A Declaration of the Grounds and Reaſons for his thus diſſolving the Parliament by Force;

'OUR Intention is not to give an Account, at this Time, of the Grounds which firſt moved us to take up Arms, and engage our Lives and all that was dear unto us in this Cauſe; nor to mind, in this Declaration, the various Diſpenſations through which Divine Providence hath led us, or the Witneſs the Lord hath borne, and the many ſignal Teſtimonies of Acceptance which he hath given, to the ſincere Endeavours of his unworthy Servants, whilſt they were conteſting with the many and great Difficulties, as well in

z From the original Edition, printed by *Henry Hills* and *Thomas Brewſter*, Printers to the Army. It was alſo publiſhed in *French*, by Authority, for the Information of Foreigners.

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'in the Wars, as other Tranſactions in the three 'Nations; being neceſſitated, for the Defence of 'the ſame Cauſe they firſt aſſerted, to have Re- 'courſe unto extraordinary Actions, the ſame be- 'ing evident by former Declarations publiſhed on 'that Behalf.

'After it had pleaſed God not only to reduce '*Ireland* and give in *Scotland*, but ſo marvelouſly 'to appear for his People at *Worceſter*, that theſe 'Nations were reduced to a great Degree of Peace, 'and *England* to perfect Quiet, and thereby the 'Parliament had Opportunity to give the People 'the Harveſt of all their Labour, Blood, and Trea- 'ſure, and to ſettle a due Liberty both in reference 'to Civil and Spiritual Things, whereunto they 'were obliged by their Duty, their Engagements, 'as alſo the great and wonderful Things which 'God hath wrought for them; it was Matter of 'much Grief to the Good and Well-affected of 'the Land, to obſerve the little Progreſs which 'was made therein, who thereupon applied to the 'Army, expecting Redreſs by their Means; not- 'withſtanding which, the Army being unwilling 'to meddle with the Civil Authority in Matters ſo 'properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, That 'his Excellency, and Officers of the Army which 'were Members of Parliament, ſhould be deſired 'to move the Parliament to proceed vigorouſly in 'reforming what was amiſs in Government, and 'to the ſettling of the Commonwealth upon a 'Foundation of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs; which 'having done, we hoped that the Parliament would 'ſeaſonably have anſwered our Expectation: But 'finding, to our Grief, Delays therein, we re- 'newed our Deſires in an humble Petition to them, 'which was preſented in *Auguſt* laſt; and although 'they at that Time, ſignifying their good Accept- 'ance thereof, returned us Thanks, and referred 'the Particulars thereof to a Committee of the 'Houſe, yet no conſiderable Effect was produced, 'nor any ſuch Progreſs made, as might imply their 'real

'real Intentions to accompliſh what was petitioned for; but, on the contrary, there more and more appeared amongſt them an Averſion to the Things themſelves, with much Bitterneſs and Oppoſition to the People of God, and his Spirit acting in them; which grew ſo prevalent, that thoſe Perſons of Honour and Integrity amongſt them, who had eminently appeared for God and the Public Good, both before and throughout this War, were rendered of no further Uſe in Parliament, than by meeting with a corrupt Party to give them Countenance to carry on their Ends, and for effecting the Deſire they had of perpetuating themſelves in the Supreme Government, for which Purpoſe the ſaid Party long oppoſed, and frequently declared themſelves againſt having, a new Repreſentative: And when they ſaw themſelves neceſſitated to take that Bill into Conſideration, they reſolved to make Uſe of it to recruit the Houſe, with Perſons of the ſame Spirit and Temper, thereby to perpetuate their own Sitting; which Intention divers of the Activeſt amongſt them did manifeſt, labouring to perſuade others to a Conſent therein: And the better to effect this, divers Petitions, preparing from ſeveral Counties for the Continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not ſet on Foot, by many of them. Inter-regnum, 1653. April.

'For obviating of theſe Evils, the Officers of the Army obtained ſeveral Meetings with ſome of the Parliament, to conſider what fitting Means and Remedy might be applied to prevent the ſame: But ſuch Endeavours proving altogether ineffectual, it became moſt evident to the Army, as they doubt not it alſo is to all conſidering Perſons, that this Parliament, through the Corruption of ſome, the Jealouſy of others, the Non-Attendance and Negligence of many, would never anſwer thoſe Ends which God, his People, and the whole Nation expected from them; but that this Cauſe, which the Lord hath ſo greatly bleſſed, and bore Witneſs to, muſt needs languiſh under

Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

'under their Hands, and, by Degrees, be wholly 'loſt; and the Lives, Liberties, and Comforts of 'his People delivered into their Enemies Hands.

'All which being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſidered 'by the honeſt People of this Nation, as well as 'by the Army, and Wiſdom and Direction being 'ſought from the Lord, it ſeemed to be a Duty 'incumbent upon us, who had ſeen ſo much of 'the Power and Preſence of God going along with 'us, to conſider of ſome more effectual Means to 'ſecure the Cauſe which the good People of this 'Commonwealth had been ſo long engaged in, 'and to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace in theſe 'Nations.

'And after much Debate it was judged neceſ- 'ſary, and agreed upon, That the Supreme Au- 'thority ſhould be, by the Parliament, devolved 'upon known Perſons, Men fearing God, and of 'approved Integrity; and the Government of the 'Commonwealth committed unto them for a 'Time, as the moſt hopeful Way to encourage 'and countenance all God's People, reform the 'Law, and adminiſter Juſtice impartially; hoping 'thereby the People might forget Monarchy, and, 'underſtanding their true Intereſt in the Election 'of ſucceſſive Parliaments, may have the Govern- 'ment ſettled upon a true Baſis, without Hazard 'to this glorious Cauſe, or neceſſitating to keep up 'Armies for the Defence of the ſame. And being 'ſtill reſolved to uſe all Means poſſible to avoid 'extraordinary Courſes, we prevailed with about 'twenty Members of Parliament to give us a Con- 'ference, with whom we freely and plainly debated 'the Neceſſity and Juſtneſs of our Propoſals on that 'Behalf; and did evidence that thoſe, and not the 'Act under their Conſideration, would moſt pro- 'bably bring forth ſomething anſwerable to that 'Work, the Foundation whereof God himſelf hath 'laid, and is now carrying on in the World.

'The which, notwithſtanding, found no Ac- 'ceptance; but, inſtead thereof, it was offered, 'that the Way was to continue ſtill this preſent

'Par-

'Parliament, as being that from which we might 'reaſonably expect all good Things: And this be- 'ing vehemently inſiſted upon, did much confirm 'us in our Apprehenſions, that not any Love to a 'Repreſentative, but the making Uſe thereof to 'recruit, and ſo perpetuate themſelves, was their 'Aim. Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

'They being plainly dealt with about this, and 'told that neither the Nation, the honeſt Intereſt, 'nor we ourſelves, would be deluded by ſuch Deal- 'ings, they did agree to meet again the next Day 'in the Afternoon for mutual Satisfaction; it being 'conſented unto by the Members preſent, that En- 'deavours ſhould be uſed that nothing in the mean 'Time ſhould be done in Parliament that might 'exclude or fruſtrate the Propoſals before-men- 'tioned.

'Notwithſtanding this, the next Morning the 'Parliament did make more Haſte than uſual, in 'carrying on their ſaid Act, being helped on there- 'in by ſome of the Perſons engaged to us the Night 'before; none of them which were then preſent 'endeavouring to oppoſe the ſame: And being 'ready to put the main Queſtion for conſumma- 'ting the ſaid Act, whereby our aforeſaid Propoſals 'would have been rendred void, and the Way of 'bringing them into a fair and full Debate in Par- 'liament obſtructed; for preventing thereof, and 'all the ſad and evil Conſequences which muſt, 'upon the Grounds aforeſaid, have enſued; and 'whereby, at one Blow, the Intereſt of all honeſt 'Men, and of this glorious Cauſe, had been in 'Danger to be laid in the Duſt, and theſe Nations 'embroiled in new Troubles, at a Time when our 'Enemies abroad are watching all Advantages a- 'gainſt us, and ſome of them actually engaged in 'War with us, we have been neceſſitated, though 'with much Reluctancy, to put an End to this 'Parliament; which yet we have done, we hope, 'out of an honeſt Heart, preferring this Cauſe a- 'bove our Names, Lives, Families, or Intereſts, 'how dear ſoever; with clear Intentions and real

'Pur-

Inter-regnum. 1653. April.

'Purpoſes of Heart, to call to the Government 'Perſons of approved Fidelity and Honeſty; be-'lieving that as no wiſe Men will expect to gather 'Grapes of Thorns, ſo good Men will hope, that 'if Perſons ſo qualified be choſen, the Fruits of a 'juſt and a righteous Reformation, ſo long prayed 'and wiſhed for, will, by the Bleſſing of God, be 'in due Time obtained, to the refreſhing of all 'thoſe good Hearts who have been panting after 'thoſe Things.

'Much more might have been ſaid, if it had 'been our Deſire to juſtify ourſelves by aſperſing 'others, and raking into the Miſgovernment of 'Affairs; but we ſhall conclude with this, That as 'we have been led by Neceſſity and Providence to 'act as we have done, even beyond and above our 'own Thoughts and Deſires; ſo we ſhall, and do, 'in that Part of this great Work which is behind, 'put ourſelves wholly upon the Lord for a Bleſſing; 'profeſſing, we look not to ſtand one Day without 'his Support, much leſs to bring to paſs any of the 'Things mentioned and deſired, without his Aſ-'ſiſtance; and therefore do ſolemnly deſire and ex-'pect, that all Men, as they would not provoke 'the Lord to their own Deſtruction, ſhould wait 'for ſuch Iſſue as he ſhould bring forth, and to 'follow their Buſineſs with peaceable Spirits; 'wherein we promiſe them Protection by his Aſ-'ſiſtance.

'And for thoſe who profeſs their Fear and Love 'to the Name of God, that ſeeing in a great Mea-'ſure for their Sakes, and for Righteouſneſs Sake, 'we have taken our Lives in our Hands to do 'theſe Things, they would be inſtant with the 'Lord Day and Night on our Behalfs, that we 'may obtain Grace from him; and ſeeing we 'have made ſo often mention of his Name, that 'we may not do the leaſt Diſhonour thereunto; 'which indeed would be our Confuſion, and a Stain 'to the whole Profeſſion of Godlineſs.

'We beſeech them alſo to live in all Humility, 'Meekneſs, Righteouſneſs, and Love one towards 'another,

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'We beſeech them alſo to live in all Humility, 'Meekneſs, Righteouſneſs, and Love one towards 'another,

'another, and towards all Men, that ſo they may 'put to ſilence the Ignorance of the Fooliſh, who 'falſly accuſe them; and to know that the late great 'and glorious Diſpenſations, wherein the Lord 'hath ſo wonderfully appeared in bringing forth 'theſe Things by the Travel and Blood of his 'Children, ought to oblige them ſo to walk in the 'Wiſdom and Love of *Chriſt*, as may cauſe others 'to honour their holy Profeſſion, becauſe they ſee '*Chriſt* to be in them of a Truth.

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'We do further purpoſe, before it be long, more 'particularly to ſhew the Grounds of our Proceed-'ings, and the Reaſons of this late great Action 'and Change, which in this we have but hinted 'at.

'And we do laſtly declare, That all Judges, 'Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, 'Committees and Commiſſioners, and all other 'Civil Officers and Public Miniſters whatſoever, 'within this Commonwealth, or any Parts there-'of, do proceed in their reſpective Places and Of-'fices; and all Perſons whatſoever are to give Obe-'dience to them as fully as when the Parliament 'was ſitting [a].

Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment, of his Excellency the Lord-General, and his Council of Officers,

WILL. MALYN, *Secretary.*

Cromwell and his Officers having thus gain'd the Power of Government into their Hands, were complimented from all Parts of *England*, on the Juſtice of his late Action; and with Engagements to ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes. The *Diaries* of theſe Times abound with Addreſſes of this Sort; but the two following, publiſhed by Authority [b], will be a ſufficient Specimen of the reſt.

Which gives a general Satisfaction.

To

[a] Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, 'That, upon this Declaration, he and his Colleagues, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, proceeded to do Buſineſs, conſidering they had their Authority from the late Parliament, tho' they had delayed it till this Declaration was publiſhed.'

[b] Printed for *R. Ibbetſon*, and licenſed by the Agent-General to the Army, in purſuance of the late Act for the ſuppreſſing of ſcandalous Books.

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To his Excellency the Lord-General CROMWELL, *and the Honourable the* OFFICERS *of the* ARMY,

The HUMBLE PETITION *of the* CHURCHES *of* CHRIST, *&c.*

Sheweth,

An Addreſs of Congratulation to him, from the Churches, on that Occaſion;

'THAT after many Prayers by us put up to the Throne of Grace for you, ſeeing now a glorious Return of a great Part of that we have prayed for, acted ſo ſweetly by you, we cannot but render this humble Acknowledgment of God's Goodneſs to us, and the reſt of God's People in the Nation therein; *and unto God do we give Thanks, for his Name is near, his wondrous Works declare* (Pſal. lxxv, ver. 1.) And we are very ſenſible that we could not expect upright Judgment (ver. 2.) from the late Parliament in that Way they acted; and are ſtrongly perſuaded to believe, that it muſt be another Congregation that muſt firſt be received by God, that is to be eſtabliſhed before the Work of the Lord be done, which we hope is now bringing forth by you: So that though the Parliament, repreſenting all the Inhabitants of this Nation, be diſſolved, yet we doubt not but our God bears up the Pillars of the Land, the Saints (ver. 3.). And we are very ſenſible of the great Endeavours that have been by you laboured many Weeks together, to have perſuaded them to have acted thoſe Things, by you long ſince repreſented to them, which might have been much for the general Good of the People of God in this Nation: And God ſaid often by you, unto many of thoſe Fools, *Deal not fooliſhly; and to the wicked Ones among them, lift not up the Horn* (ver. 4.); and to all of them, *Lift not up your Horn on high, ſpeak not with a ſtiff Neck* (ver. 5.): And now when no other Means would prevail, the Lord hath let them know in his Actings by you, that though they were ſent from ſeveral Parts of the Nation, yet *Promotion cometh neither from the Eaſt nor from*

the

'*the West, nor from the South* (ver. 6.); and that God himself is Judge, (ver. 7.) he hath put them down, that they may no longer sit to deceive the Nation, and he is setting up others in their Stead. Inter-regnum 1653. May.

'Our Petition to your Excellency therefore is,

'*First*, That you, whom we look upon as our '*Moses* leading God's People, would be pleased, 'as always you have been, still to be for the People 'to God-ward; that you may bring the Causes 'unto God, (*Exod.* xviii, ver. 19.) and advance the 'Scepter of our Lord *Jesus*.

'*Secondly*, That you will remove the Grievances 'of Law-Suits, and teach us Ordinances and Laws; 'and shew us the Way wherein we must walk, and 'the Work that we must do (ver. 20.) for the Glory 'of God, the Peace and Welfare of the Nation.

'*Thirdly*, That you will not leave the Choice 'of those that shall govern us to the Liberty of the 'Counties, but that your Excellency will be pleased 'yourself to provide Conservators for us out of all 'the People; and place over us, both in an higher 'and in other lower Courts of Civil Judicature, 'such to judge the People at all Seasons as shall 'be (ver. 21, 22.) 1*st*, Able Men. 2*dly*, Men 'fearing God. 3*dly*, Men of Truth. 4*thly*, Men 'hating Covetousness.

And the Petitioners do still pray, &c.

Signed by the free Consent, and unanimous Appointment, of the Churches assembled together; April 25, 1653.

The HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE *of the* GENERAL COUNCIL *of* OFFICERS, *met at* Dalkeith *the 5th of* May, 1653, *in behalf of themselves and the Forces in* Scotland; *shewing their hearty Concurrence with his Excellency the Lord-General* Cromwell *and his Council of Officers at* Whitehall, *in dissolving the late* Parliament.

'CONsidering the late Declaration from your 'Excellency and General Council, shewing 'the Grounds and Reasons for the Dissolution of Another from the Army in *Scotland*.

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'the late Parliament, who were choſen by the 'People for the common Good, and to procure 'the Well-being of thoſe by whom they were in-'truſted; to remove Oppreſſions and arbitrary 'Power, and all Obſtacles to the Peace and Free-'dom of theſe Nations, whoſe Intereſts they ought 'to have preferred before their own Particular: 'And that, after ſo long Expectation of ſome Fruit 'of what they have formerly remonſtrated and de-'clared unto the People, and ſo many Years Con-'tinuance, falling ſhort of that Good they might 'have done, they ſhould ſtill ſo ſtrangely (to the 'Breach of thoſe Gentlemen's Engagements to your 'Lordſhip and your Council, mentioned in your 'late Declaration) endeavour to perpetuate them-'ſelves, and thereby ſtill enſlave the Nation, we can-'not but bleſs the good Hand of God in ſtirring up 'your Hearts to bear Witneſs againſt thoſe Evils 'and Corruptions amongſt them, which too mani-'feſtly abounded, and are clearly evident, to the 'ſaddening of the Hearts of good Men; and eſteem 'it a wonderful Providence that directed you to ſo 'neceſſary and acceptable a Work.

'We truſt that the Lord, who hath led you thro' 'many Difficulties, from Time to Time, even to 'this preſent Undertaking, will herein give you 'Wiſdom and Courage once again to put forth 'yourſelves in the great Work of the Lord and his 'People, in reviving thoſe Rights and Privileges 'that have been too long ſtifled; whereby the 'Hearts of Thouſands are refreſhed, as it appears 'by the good Reſentment that is every where had 'of it: And we reſt aſſured that the Lord will lead 'you by the Right Hand of his Love, and make 'you walk in even Paths, teach you to underſtand 'Wiſdom and Righteouſneſs, and enable you ſo 'to manage thoſe weighty Affairs, (he hath now 'ſo ſeaſonably called you unto) as that the Hands 'of all good People may be ſtrengthened by you; 'and an happy Reformation produced in a greater 'Meaſure and ſhorter Time, than was ever like to 'have been by the perpetual ſitting of thoſe Men

'whom

'whom the Lord hath been pleas'd now to lay aſide. Inter-regnum. 1653. May.
'And herein we ſhall not only pray for you, and
'rejoice to ſee theſe Things brought forth by your
'waiting upon the Lord, and ſtudying Righteouſ-
'neſs and Peace; but ſhall alſo, as far as the Lord
'ſhall enable us, with our Hearts and Hands, and
'all our Might, be ready to join with you, and to
'own you in the further Proſecution of this great
'Work, with which we hope neither our Lives
'nor any external Comfort ſhall come in Compe-
'tition.

'And we doubt not but all honeſt Hearts in theſe
'Nations, (as in the Army) which have not bowed
'their Knees to *Baal*, will, to a Man, ſecond you
'in making good every Syllable of what hath been
'formerly declared. And at length we hope the
'Lord will ſettle theſe Nations in Peace; and, in
'the mean while, raiſe up your Spirits to tread up-
'on and ſcorn thoſe vile Things which have pol-
'luted the Hands and Hearts of many that have
'gone before you; and to act to the Praiſe of his
'great Name, and the Comfort and Refreſhment
'of all his People throughout the World.

'We ſhall not ſay much more at preſent, but
'deſire that you may go forth in the Strength of
'our God; then ſhall the Work of the Lord pro-
'ſper in your Hands, and thoſe mighty Lions,
'which have lain in the Way of a pure and righ-
'teous Reformation, be removed. And we truſt
'our Vows and Promiſes ſhall be no more forgot-
'ten, nor ſhall we be led back again to ſtoop to
'any *Egyptian* Yoke of Bondage, either in Spiri-
'tual or Temporal Kingly Powers.

Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment, of the Commander in Chief, and the General Council of Officers, of the Forces in Scotland,

WILLIAM CLERKE, *Secretary.*

Thus back'd, and thus fortified on all Sides, *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers, out of whom he had conſtituted a Council of State, went on

Inter-regnum. 1653. June.

boldly with their Affairs.——On the ninth of *June* they iſſued out a Declaration for continuing the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 120,000*l.* to the 25th of *December* enſuing, towards the Maintenance of the Army and Navy. A few Days after, they gave an Audience in Form to the *Portugueze* and *Sweediſh* Ambaſſadors: They alſo granted Commiſſions for *John Corbet* and *John Haggit*, Eſq^rs. to be Judges in *North* and *South-Wales*, in the room of Serjeant *Eltonhead* and Serjeant *Powel*, whom they had thought proper to remove from their Employments: And, another Victory being gained on the ſecond and third of this Month by the *Engliſh* Fleet over the *Dutch* [d], the Council of State iſſued out a Declaration, To invite all the good People of theſe Nations to Thankfulneſs, and holy Rejoicing in the Lord, upon that Occaſion; which was ordered to be publiſhed as follows [e].

Gen. *Cromwell* and his Council order the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 120,000*l.* to be continued,

Whitehall, *June* 11, 1655.

And appoint a Thankſgiving-Day for another Victory over the *Dutch* Fleet.

'IT hath been a Cuſtom much exerciſed, to enjoin Days and Duties of Thankſgiving for Mercies received from the Lord; the Suitableneſs of which Practice with Goſpel Times, and that Goſpel Spirit which is only to bear Rule in the Churches of God (where the Worſhip is to be in Spirit and Truth, exerciſed by a free and willing People) is beſide the Intent of this Paper to diſpute.

'But conſidering how welcome to the Lord's People every Occaſion of Praiſe, miniſtered by the Lord himſelf, and minded by thoſe that manage the Public Affairs, is to ſuch as wait for his Salvation, we have thought fit to commend this high

[d] In this Engagement wherein *Deane*, *Blake*, and *Monk* commanded, the former was killed the firſt Day.

On the 24th of *June* Admiral *Deane*'s Corpſe was brought from *Greenwich* to *Weſtminſter-Bridge*, by Water, attended by thirty Barges in Mourning. The Proceſſion was ſaluted, in their Paſſage, by all the Ships in the River, and the *Tower* Guns. In the Evening the Body was interr'd in the Abbey with great Pomp: The Lord-General and his Council, with all the Officers of the Navy and Army, then in Town, attending the Funeral.

[e] From the original Edition, printed by *William Du-Gard* and *Henry Lills*.

'high and heavenly Exercise and Privilege to all those who are faithful in these Lands, in the Words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, xii. ver. 4. *In that Day ye shall say, praise the Lord, call upon his Name, declare his Doings among the People, make Mention that his Name is exalted.* Ver. 5. *Sing unto the Lord, for he hath done excellent Things; this is known in all the Earth.* Ver. 6. *Cry out, and shout, thou Inhabitant of* Sion, *for great is the holy One of* Israel *in the Midst of thee.* Truly this is such a Day; if not that Day, it may be the Dawning of it. Isa. x. *A Day of Woe to unrighteous Judges, to Tyrants, to all the Proud of the Earth.* Isa. xi. *The Day of him who is the Rod, the Branch, and the Root of* Jesse. Ver. 5. *The Day of his Righteousness and Faithfulness.* Ver. 6. *Of his beginning to heal the Creation.* Ver. 12, 13. *The Day of gathering his People, and taking away their Envyings one of another, and making up their Breaches.* Inter-regnum. 1653. June.

'This great Success against the *Dutch* (who a few Days before were lifted up with their Successes in getting out their Fleets for Trade, and bringing their Ships loaden with Merchandize home in Safety, and in their braving it upon our Coasts, shooting against our Towns and Castles, in the Absence of our Fleet) was a most signal, and every Way a most seasonable, Mercy.

'The Victory was a complete one, the Enemy flying with great Terror and Astonishment, having received great Loss of Men and Ships, and this in the View and Hearing of the Subjects of *France* and *Spain*, and their own Countrymen. It was without the Loss of one Ship on our Part. It was also seasonable, in abasing Pride, Haughtiness, and fleshly Confidence, and in discovering Hypocrisy. It was an Answer to the Faith and Prayer of God's People, and to their great Hopes and Expectations from the Lord. It is a Mercy reminding us of, and sealing to us, all our former Mercies: A Mercy at such a Time as this, to say no more! What Mercy it hath in the

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'Bowels of it, Time will declare: Who knows? 'One of which we desire from our Hearts, and 'hope may be, as of Establishment and Union to 'all those that fear the Lord amongst us, so of 'Conviction to that Nation (at least to all those 'that fear the Lord there) of their Opposition to 'the Work of the Lord in the Midst of us; and of 'their Duty to be serviceable to *Christ*, with their 'Brethren, in that which he is doing in the World, 'preferring their Usefulness therein before all their 'worldly Advantages.

'We shall conclude our Exhortation with that 'of *David*, Psal. cvii, 1. *O give Thanks unto the 'Lord, for he is good, for his Mercy endureth for 'ever.* Ver. 2. *Let the Redeemed of the Lord say 'so, whom he hath redeemed from the Hand of the 'Enemy.* Psal. cxviii, 1. *O give Thanks unto the 'Lord, for he is good, for his Mercy endureth for 'ever.* Ver. 2. *Let* Israel *now say, that his Mercy 'endureth for ever.* Ver. 3. *Let the House of* Aaron *now say, that his Mercy endureth for ever.* Ver. 4. *Let them now, that fear the Lord, say, 'that his Mercy endureth for ever.* Ver. ult. *O 'give Thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, for his 'Mercy endureth for ever.*

'The General and Council of State have ap- 'pointed the 23d of this Instant *June* to meet, if 'God permit, with the Council of Officers, to 'praise him.

By Order of the Council of State,

JO. THURLOE, *Secretary.*

The Lord Mayor of *London*, (Alderman *Fowke*) to testify his Allegiance to his new Sovereigns, issued a Precept to the Ministers of the several Parishes of that City, recommending earnestly to their Care the Publishing the foregoing Declaration in their Congregations, and to stir up the People to be unanimous in their Praises to God for this seasonable Mercy. And on the 23d this Thanksgiving-Day (as the *Diaries* inform us) was accordingly

ingly obſerved with great Solemnity and Devotion, by the Lord-General and his Council, in the Chapel at *Whitehall*; by the Army and the Fleet; and by the People throughout the whole Nation.

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Though *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers had hitherto exerciſed the Civil Authority without Controul, yet not thinking themſelves quite ſafe in their new-acquired Power, without, at leaſt, the Appearance of a Legiſlative Sanction, they agreed upon a Project of calling a Sort of a Parliament, and ſuch a Sort as never ſat in *England* before. To this End a Meeting of the General Officers of the Army was appointed at *Whitehall*, where Major-General *Lambert*, General *Harriſon*, and other great Men of the Army came. *Lambert* propoſed that a few Perſons, not exceeding the Number of ten or twelve, might be intruſted with the Supreme Power: *Harriſon* was for a greater Number, inclining much to that of Seventy, being the Number the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* conſiſted of. But, after ſome Debate, it was reſolved, that a Number of Perſons in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, as near as might be proportionable to their Payments toward the Public Charge, ſhould be nominated by the Council of Officers, and ſent for to meet at *Weſtminſter* on a certain Day; to whom all the Authority of the Nation ſhould be delegated by an Inſtrument ſign'd and ſeal'd by the General and the Officers, obliging themſelves to be obedient to their Orders. The Summons to be ſent out for collecting this Aſſembly, in the General's Name only, was in theſe Words:

They alſo reſolve to nominate a Number of Perſons to take upon them the Government of the Commonwealth.

A Summons iſſued by *Cromwell* for that Purpoſe.

Forasmuch as upon the Diſſolution of the late Parliament it became neceſſary that the Peace, Safety, and good Government of this Commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and, in order thereunto, divers Perſons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honeſty, are by myſelf, with the Advice of my Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the great Charge and

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and Truſt of ſo weighty Affairs is to be committed; and having good Aſſurance of your Love to, and Courage for, God and the Intereſt of his Cauſe, and of the good People of this Commonwealth:

I Oliver Cromwell, *Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, within this Commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you (being one of the ſaid Perſons nominated) perſonally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the Name of the Council-Chamber at* Whitehall, *within the City of* Weſtminſter, *upon the fourth Day of* July *next enſuing the Date hereof; then and there to take upon you the ſaid Truſt unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to ſerve as a Member for the County of . And hereof you are not to fail.*

Given under my Hand and Seal the ſixth Day of *June*, 1653.

O. CROMWELL.

In purſuance of the foregoing Summons, this moſt extraordinary Convention aſſembled themſelves together; the Account of which we ſhall give, as then publiſhed by Authority, in the following Terms [e]:

The Perſons nominated meet at *Whitehall* in purſuance thereof.

'*July* 4. This being the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord-General, for the Meeting of the Perſons called to the Supreme Authority, there came about 120 of them to the Council-Chamber in *Whitehall*. After each Perſon had given in a Ticket of his Name, they all enter'd the Room and ſat down in Chairs, appointed for them, round about the Table: Then his Excellency the Lord-General ſtanding by the Window, oppoſite to the Middle of the Table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as the Room could well contain, ſome on his Right Hand and others on his Left, and about him, made the following Speech to the Aſſembly: [f]

Gentlemen,

[e] *Proceedings on State Affairs*, No. 197.

[f] From the original Edition, printed by *W. Du-Gard* and *H. Hills*.

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Gentlemen,

'I Suppose the Summons that hath been inſtrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to underſtand the Cauſe of your being here. Howbeit, having ſomething to impart, which is an Inſtrument drawn up by the Conſent and Advice of the principal Officers of the Army, which is a little, as we conceive, more ſignificant than that other Summons, we have that here to tender you: And we have ſomewhat further likewiſe to ſay to you for our own Exoneration, and we hope it may be ſomewhat further to your Satisfaction; and therefore ſeeing you ſit here ſomewhat uneaſy, by reaſon of the Scantneſs of the Room and the Heat of the Weather, I ſhall contract myſelf with reſpect to that.

Cromwell's Speech to that Aſſembly.

'I have not thought it amiſs a little to remind you of that Series of Providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath diſpenſed wonderful Things to theſe Nations, from the Beginning of our Troubles to this very Day. If I ſhould look much backward, we might remember the State of Affairs as they were before the ſhort, and that which was the laſt, Parliament; in what a Poſture the Things of this Nation ſtood, doth ſo well, I preſume, occur to all your Memories and Knowledge, that I ſhall not need to look ſo far backward, nor yet to the Beginning of thoſe hoſtile Actions that paſt between the King that was and the then Parliament. And, indeed, ſhould I begin this Labour, the Things that would fall neceſſarily before you, would rather be fit for a Hiſtory, than for a Diſcourſe at this preſent.

'But thus far we may look back: You very well know, after divers Turnings of Affairs, it pleaſed God, much about the Midſt of this War, to winnow, as I may ſay, the Forces of this Nation, and to put them into the Hands of Men of other Principles than thoſe that did engage at the firſt. By what ſtrange Providences that alſo was brought about, would aſk more Time than is allotted

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'lotted me to remember you of. Indeed there are 'Stories that do recite thoſe Tranſactions, and give 'Narratives of Matter of Fact; but thoſe Things 'wherein the Life and Power of them lay, thoſe 'ſtrange Windings and Turnings of Providence, 'thoſe very great Appearances of God in croſſing 'and thwarting the Deſigns of Men, that he might 'raiſe up a poor and contemptible Company of 'Men, neither verſed in Military Affairs, nor ha-'ving much natural Propenſity to them, even thro' 'the owning of a Principle of Godlineſs, of Reli-'gion; which ſo ſoon as it came to be owned, and 'the State of Affairs put upon that Foot of Account, 'how God bleſſed them and all Undertakings, by 'the raiſing of that moſt improbable, deſpicable, 'contemptible Means, for that we muſt for ever 'own, you very well know.

'What the ſeveral Succeſſes have been, is not 'fit to mention at this Time neither, though I 'muſt confeſs I thought to have enlarged myſelf 'upon this Subject; foraſmuch as the conſidering 'the Works of God, and the Operation of his 'Hands, is a principal Part of our Duty, and a 'great Encouragement to the ſtrengthening of our 'Hands, and of our Faith for that which is behind. 'And then having given us thoſe marvellous Diſ-'penſations amongſt other Ends, for that was a 'moſt principal End, as to us, in this Revolution 'of Affairs, and Iſſues of thoſe Succeſſes God was 'pleaſed to give this Nation, and the Authority 'that then ſtood, were very great Things brought 'about; beſides thoſe Dints that were upon theſe 'Nations and Places where they were carried on, 'even in the Civil Affairs, to the bringing Offend-'ers to Juſtice, even the Greateſt; to the bring-'ing the State of this Government to the Name, 'at leaſt, of a Commonwealth; to the ſearch-'ing and ſifting of all Places and Perſons; the 'King removed and brought to Juſtice, and many 'Great Ones with him; the Houſe of Peers 'laid aſide; the Houſe of Commons, the Repre-'ſentative of the People of *England*, itſelf win-

'nowed

'mowed, ſifted, and brought to a Handful, as you may very well remember. Interregnum. 1653. July.

'And, truly, God would not reſt there; for, by the Way, although it be fit for us to intitle our Failings and Miſcarriages to ourſelves, yet the Gloriouſneſs of the Work may well be attributed to God himſelf, and may be called *his ſtrange Work*.

'You may remember well that, at the Change of the Government, there was not an End of our Troubles; although that Year ſuch Things were tranſacted, as, indeed, made it to be the moſt memorable Year (I mean 1648) that ever this Nation ſaw; ſo many Inſurrections, Invaſions, ſecret Deſigns, open and public Attempts, quaſh'd in ſo ſhort a Time; and this by the very ſignal Appearances of God himſelf, which I hope we ſhall never forget.

'You know alſo, as I ſaid before, that as the Effect of that memorable Year 1648, was to lay the Foundation of bringing Delinquents to Puniſhment, ſo it was of the Change of the Government; although it be true, if we had Time to ſpeak, the Carriages of ſome in Truſt, in moſt eminent Truſt, was ſuch as would have fruſtrated to us the Hopes of all our Undertakings, had not God miraculouſly prevented: I mean by that Cloſure that would have been endeavoured with the King, whereby we ſhould have put into his Hands all that Cauſe and Intereſt we had oppoſed, and had nothing to have ſecured us but a little Piece of Paper.

'But Things going on, how it pleaſed the Lord to keep this Nation in Exerciſe both at Sea and Land, and what God wrought in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, you likewiſe know, untill the Lord had finiſhed all that Trouble upon the Matter, by the marvelous Salvation wrought at *Worceſter*. I confeſs to you I am very much troubled in my Spirit, that the Neceſſity of Affairs doth require that I ſhould be ſo ſhort in theſe Things, becauſe I told you before, this is the leaneſt Part of the

'Tranſ-

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'Tranſaction, to wit, An hiſtorical Narration; 'there being in every Diſpenſation, (whether the 'King's going from the Parliament, the pulling 'down the Biſhops, purging the Houſe at that 'Time by their going away to aſſiſt the King, or 'Change of Government) whatever it was, not 'any of theſe Things but hath a remarkable Point 'of Providence ſet upon it, that he that runs may 'read. Therefore I am heartily ſorry that, in 'point of Time, I cannot be particular in thoſe 'Things which I did principally deſign this Day, 'thereby to provoke and ſtir up your Hearts and 'mine to Gratitude and Confidence.

'I ſhall now begin a little to remember you the 'Paſſages that have been tranſacted ſince *Worceſter* 'Fight; whence coming with my Fellow-Officers 'and Soldiers, we expected, and had ſome reaſon-'able Confidence that our Expectations ſhould not 'be fruſtrated; that the Authority that then was, 'having ſuch a Hiſtory to look back unto, ſuch a 'God that appeared for them ſo eminently, ſo vi-'ſibly, that even our Enemies many Times con-'feſs'd that God himſelf was engag'd againſt them, 'or they ſhould never have been brought ſo low, 'nor diſappointed in every Undertaking: For that 'may be ſaid, (by the Way) had we miſcarried 'but once where had we been? I ſay we did think, 'and had ſome reaſonable Confidence, that coming 'up then, the Mercies that God had ſhewed, the 'Expectations that were in the Hearts of all good 'Men, would have prompted thoſe that were in 'Authority to have done thoſe good Things which 'might, by honeſt Men, have been judged a Re-'turn fit for ſuch a God, and worthy of ſuch Mer-'cies; and indeed a Diſcharge of Duty to thoſe 'for whom all theſe Mercies have been ſhewed, 'that is, the Intereſt of the three Nations, the true 'Intereſt of the three Nations.

'And if I ſhould now labour to be particular in 'enumerating ſome Buſineſſes that have been 'tranſacted from that Time, till the Diſſolution of 'the late Parliament, indeed I ſhould be upon a

'Theme

'Theme that would be very troubleſome to my- Inter-regnum.
'ſelf: For I muſt ſay for myſelf and Fellow-Offi- 1653.
'cers, we have rather deſired and ſtudied healing July
'than to rake into Sores, and look backward to
'render Things in thoſe Colours that would not
'be very well pleaſing to any good Eye to look
'upon. Only this we muſt ſay, for our own Exo-
'neration, and as thereby laying ſome Foundation
'for the making evident the Neceſſity and Duty
'that was incumbent upon us to make this laſt
'great Change; I think it will not be amiſs to of-
'fer a Word or two in that, not taking Pleaſure to
'rake into the Buſineſs, were there not ſome Kind
'of Neceſſity ſo to do. Indeed we may ſay, with-
'out commending ourſelves, I mean myſelf and
'thoſe Gentlemen that have been engaged in the
'Military Affairs, that upon our Return we came
'fully bent, in our Hearts and Thoughts, to deſire
'and uſe all fair and lawful Means we could to
'have had the Nation to reap the Fruit of all that
'Blood and Treaſure that had been expended in
'this Cauſe; and we have had many Deſires and
'Thirſtings in our Spirits, to find out Ways and
'Means whereon we might any ways be inſtru-
'mental to help it forward; and we were very
'tender, for a long Time, ſo much as to petition;
'till *Auguſt* laſt, or thereabouts, we never offered
'to petition. But ſome of our then Members and
'others having good Acquaintance and Relation
'to divers Members of the Parliament, we did,
'from Time to Time, ſollicit that which we
'thought (if there had been Nobody to prompt
'them, Nobody to call upon them) would have
'been liſtened to, out of Ingenuity and Integrity
'in them that had Opportunity to have anſwered
'our Expectations: And, truly, when we ſaw no-
'thing would be done, we did, as we thought,
'according to our Duty, remind them by a Peti-
'tion; which Petition, I ſuppoſe, the moſt of you
'have ſeen, which we delivered either in *July* or
'*Auguſt* laſt. What Effect that had is likewiſe
'very well known; the Truth is, we had no Re-

'turn

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'turn at all; all the Satisfaction for us was but a 'few Words given us; the Buſineſſes petitioned for 'moſt of them, we were told, were under Conſi-'deration, and thoſe that were not had very little 'or no Conſideration at all.

'Finding the People diſſatisfied in every Corner 'of the Nation, and bringing home to our Doors 'the Non-performance of thoſe Things that had 'been promiſed, and were, of Due, to be per-'formed, we did think ourſelves concerned; we 'endeavoured, as became honeſt Men, to keep up 'the Reputation of honeſt Men in the World, and 'therefore we had divers Times endeavoured to 'obtain a Meeting with divers Members of Par-'liament, and truly we did not begin this till *Oc-'tober* laſt; and in thoſe Meetings did, in all Faith-'fulneſs and Sincerity, beſeech them that they 'would be mindful of their Duty to God and Man, 'and of the Diſcharge of their Truſt to God and 'Man. I believe that many of theſe Gentlemen 'who are here, can tell that we had at the leaſt ten 'or twelve Meetings, moſt humbly begging and 'beſeeching them that, of their own Accords, they 'would do thoſe good Things that had been pro-'miſed; that ſo it might appear they did not 'do them by any Suggeſtion from the Army, but 'of their own Ingenuity; ſo tender were we to pre-'ſerve them in the Reputation and Opinion of the 'People to the uttermoſt. And having had many 'of thoſe Meetings, we declared plainly that the 'Iſſue would be the Judgment and Diſpleaſure of 'God againſt them, the Diſſatisfaction of the 'People, and the putting Things into a Confuſion; 'yet how little we did prevail we well know, and 'we believe is not unknown to you.

'At the laſt, when we ſaw indeed that Things 'would not be laid to Heart, we had a ſerious 'Conſideration amongſt ourſelves what other 'Way to have Recourſe unto; and when, indeed, 'we came to thoſe cloſe Conſiderations, they be-'gan to take the Act of the new Repreſentative to

'Heart,

'Heart, and ſeem'd exceeding willing to put it on; Inter-regnum. 1653. July.
'the which had it been done, or would it have
'been done, with that Integrity, with that Cau-
'tion, that would have ſaved this Cauſe, and the
'Intereſt we have been ſo long engaged in, there
'could nothing have happened, to our Judgment,
'more welcome than that would have been: But
'finding plainly that the Intendment of it was not
'to give the People that Right of Choice, but the
'ſeeming to give the People that Choice was intend-
'ed and deſigned only to recruit the Houſe, the bet-
'ter to perpetuate themſelves: And truly having,
'divers of us, been ſpoken to to that End, that we
'ſhould give Way to it, a Thing to which we had a
'perpetual Averſion, which we did abominate the
'Thoughts of, we always declared our Judgments
'againſt it, and our Diſſatisfaction; but yet they
'would not hear of a new Repreſentative till it had
'laid three Years before them, without proceeding
'with one Line conſiderably in it; nay, they could
'not endure to hear of it: Then when we came to
'our cloſe Conſiderations, then, inſtead of pro-
'tracting, they did make as much prepoſterous
'Haſte on the other Hand, and ran into that Ex-
'tremity; and finding that this Spirit was not ac-
'cording to God, and that the whole Weight of
'this Cauſe, which muſt needs have been very
'dear unto us, who have ſo often adventured our
'Lives for it, and we believe is ſo to you; when
'we ſaw plainly that there was not ſo much Con-
'ſideration how to aſſert it, or to provide Security
'for it; but indeed to croſs thoſe that they reckon-
'ed the moſt troubleſome People they had to deal
'with, which was the Army, who, by this Time,
'was ſufficiently their Diſpleaſure: I ſay, when we
'that had the Power in our Hands, ſaw that to let the
'Buſineſs go to ſuch an Iſſue as this, was to throw
'back the Cauſe into the Hands of them we firſt
'fought with, we came to this firſt Concluſion
'amongſt ourſelves, That if we had been fought
'out of it, Neceſſity would have taught us Patience;

'but

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'but to have it taken from us ſo unworthily, 'we ſhould be rendered the worſt People in the 'World, and we ſhould become Traitors both to 'God and Man. And when God had laid this to 'our Hearts, and that we found the Intereſt of his 'People was grown cheap, and not laid to Heart, 'and if we came to Competition of Things, the 'Cauſe even amongſt themſelves would (even al-'moſt in every Thing) go to the Ground: This 'did add more Conſideration to us, that there was 'a Duty incumbent on us. And, truly, I ſpeak it 'in the Preſence of ſome that are here, that were at 'the cloſe Conſultations (I may ſay) as before the 'Lord, the thinking of an Act of Violence was 'to us worſe than any Engagement that ever we 'were in yet; and worſe to us than the utmoſt 'Hazard of our Lives that could be; ſo unwilling 'were we, ſo tender were we, ſo deſirous were we, 'if it were poſſible, that theſe Men might have quit 'their Places with Honour: And, truly, this I am 'the longer upon, becauſe it hath been, in our 'Hearts and Conſciences, our Juſtification; and 'hath never yet been imparted thoroughly to the 'Nation; and we had rather begin with you to 'do it, than to have done it before; and do think 'indeed that theſe Tranſactions be more proper for 'a verbal Communication than to have been put in 'Writing. I doubt whoſoever had put it into Wri-'ting, would have been tempted to have dipt his 'Pen in Anger and Wrath; but Affairs being at 'this Poſture, that we ſaw plainly and evidently, 'in ſome critical Things, that the Cauſe of the 'People of God was a deſpiſed Thing; truly then 'we did believe that the Hands of other Men muſt 'be the Hands that muſt be truſted with it; and 'then we thought it high Time for us to look about 'us, and to be ſenſible of our Duty. If I ſhould 'take up your Time to tell you what Inſtances we 'have to ſatisfy our Judgments and Conſciences 'that theſe Things were not vain Imaginations, 'that were petitioned for, but that fell within the

'Compaſs

'Compaſs of our certain Knowledge and Senſe; 'ſhould I repeat theſe Things to you, I ſhould do 'that which I would avoid, to rake into theſe 'Things too much. Only this: If Anybody were 'in Competition for any Place of real and ſignal 'Truſt, how hard and difficult a Thing it were to 'get any Thing to be carried without making Par-'ties, without Things indeed unworthy of a Par-'liament; and when Things muſt be carried ſo in 'a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as 'it ought to be. But when it came to other Tri-'als, in that Caſe of *Wales*, which I muſt confeſs, 'for my own Part, I ſet myſelf upon; if I ſhould 'inform what Diſcountenance that Buſineſs of the 'poor People of God there had, who had Men 'watching over them like ſo many Wolves, ready 'to catch the Lamb as ſoon as it was brought out 'into the World: How ſignally they threw that 'Buſineſs under foot, to the diſcountenancing of the 'honeſt People there, and the countenancing of the 'malignant Party of this Commonwealth, I need 'but ſay it was ſo; many have felt, by ſad Expe-'rience, it was ſo, who will better impart that 'Buſineſs to you, which (for myſelf and Fellow-'Officers) I think was as perfect a Trial of 'their Spirits as any Thing; it being known to 'many of us, that God kindles a Seed there, in-'deed, hardly to be parallel'd ſince the primitive 'Times.

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'I would this had been all the Inſtances; but 'finding which Way their Spirits went, and find-'ing that Good was never intended to the People 'of God; I mean, when I ſay ſo, that large Com-'prehenſion of them under the ſeveral Forms of 'Godlineſs in this Nation; when I ſaw that Ten-'derneſs was forgotten to them all, (though it was 'very true that by their Hands and Means, thro' 'the Bleſſing of God, they ſat where they did) and 'Affairs (not to ſpeak it boaſtingly) had been in-'ſtrumentally brought to that Iſſue they were 'brought to by the Hands of thoſe poor Creatures, 'we thought this an evil Requital. I will not ſay

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'they were at the uttermoſt Pitch of Reformation, 'altho' I could ſay that in one Thing, the Regu- 'lation of the Law, ſo much groaned under in that 'Poſture it now is in, there were many Words ſpo- 'ken for it; we know, many Months together was 'not Time enough to paſs over one Word called '*Incumbrances*. I ſay, finding that this was the 'Spirit and Complexion of them, that tho' theſe 'were Faults for which no Man ſhould have dared 'to lift his Hand, ſimply for theſe Faults and Fail- 'ings, yet when we ſaw their Intendment was to 'perpetuate themſelves and Men of this Spirit, for 'ſome had it from their own Mouths, from their 'own Deſigns, who could not endure to hear of 'being diſſolved; this was an high Breach of 'Truſt, if they had been a Parliament never vio- 'lated, ſitting as free and as clear as ever any ſat 'in *England*; yet if they would go about to perpe- 'tuate themſelves, we did think this to be ſo high 'a Breach of Truſt, as greater could not be. And 'we did not go by Gueſs in this; and, to be out 'of Doubt in it, we (having that Conference 'among ourſelves, whereof we gave Account) 'did deſire once more, the Night before the Diſ- 'ſolution, (and it had been in our Deſires ſome 'two or three Days before) that we might ſpeak 'with ſome of the principal Perſons of the Houſe, 'that we might, with Ingenuity, open our Hearts 'to them, to the end we might be either convinced 'of the Ground of their Principles and Intentions 'to the Good of the Nation; or, if we could not 'be convinced, they would hear our Offer, or Ex- 'pedient, to prevent this Miſchief; and indeed we 'could not prevail for two or three Days, till the 'Night before the Diſſolution. There is a Touch 'of this in that our Declaration; we had often de- 'ſired it, and at that Time attained it; there were 'above twenty of them who were Members, none 'of the leaſt Conſideration for Intereſt and Ability, 'with whom we deſired to diſcourſe thoſe Things, 'and had Diſcourſe with them; and it pleaſed the 'Gentlemen Officers of the Army to deſire me to

'offer

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'offer their Senſe to them, and indeed it was ſhortly 'carried thus: We told them the Reaſon of our 'Deſire to wait upon them was, to know what Se-'curity we had in the Way of their proceeding ſo 'haſtily with their Act for a new Repreſentative, 'wherein they had made a few Qualifications, 'ſuch as they were; but how the whole Buſi-'neſs ſhould be executed we had no Account of, 'which we deſired them to give us; for we 'thought we had an Intereſt in our Lives, E-'ſtates, and Families, as well as the worſt People 'of the Nation, and that we might be bold to aſk 'Satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in 'honeſt Ways, as might be ſafe to the Nation, 'we might acquieſce therein. When we preſſed 'them to give Satisfaction in this, the Anſwer 'was, That nothing could be good for the Nation 'but the Continuance of this Parliament. We 'wondered that we ſhould have ſuch a Return; 'we ſaid little to that.

'But ſeeing they would not give us that which 'might ſatisfy us that their Way was honeſt 'and ſafe, they would give us Leave to make our 'Objections: We did tell them, That we thought 'that Way they were going in would be imprac-'ticable: We could not tell them how it would 'be brought to paſs, to ſend out an Act of Parlia-'ment into the Country, to have Qualifications in 'an Act to be the Rules of Electors and Elected, 'and not to know who ſhould execute this; de-'ſiring to know whether the next Parliament were 'not like to conſiſt of all Preſbyterians? Whether 'thoſe Qualifications would hinder them, or Neu-'ters? And though it be our Deſire to value and 'eſteem Perſons of that Judgment, only they ha-'ving, as we know, deſerted this Cauſe and Inte-'reſt upon the King's Account, and on that Cloſure 'between them and the Neighbour Nation, we do 'think we muſt confeſs we had as good have deli-'vered up our Cauſe into the Hands of any, as in-'to the Hands of intereſted and biaſs'd Men; for 'it is one Thing to live friendly and brotherly;

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'to bear with, and love, a Perſon of another Judg-
'ment in Religion; another Thing to have any
'ſo far ſet into the Saddle upon that Account, as
'that it ſhould be in them to have all the reſt of
'their Brethren at Mercy. Having had this Diſ-
'courſe, making theſe Objections of bringing in
'Neuters, or ſuch as ſhould impoſe upon their Bre-
'thren, or ſuch as had given Teſtimony to the
'King's Party; and objecting to the Danger of it,
'in drawing the Concourſe of all People to arraign
'every individual Perſon, which indeed did fall ob-
'viouſly in, (and the Iſſue would certainly have been
'the putting it into the Hands of Men that had little
'Affection to this Cauſe) it was confeſſed by ſome
'that theſe Objections did lye: But Anſwer was
'made by a very eminent Perſon, at the ſame
'Time as before, That nothing would ſave the
'Nation but the Continuance of this Parliament.
'This being ſo, we humbly propoſed an Expedient
'of ours, which was indeed to deſire that the Go-
'vernment, being in that Condition it was, and
'Things being under ſo much ill Senſe abroad,
'and ſo likely to come to Confuſion in every Re-
'ſpect, if it went on; we then deſired they would
'devolve the Truſt over to Perſons of Honour and
'Integrity, that were well known, Men well af-
'fected to Religion and the Intereſt of the Nation;
'which we told them, and was confeſſed, had
'been no new Thing, when theſe Nations had been
'under the like Hurly-burly and Diſtractions; and
'it was confeſſed by them, it had been no new
'Thing. We had been at Labour to get Precedents
'to convince them of it; and we told them thoſe
'Things we offered, out of that deep Senſe we had
'of the Good of the Nation, and the Cauſe of
'*Chriſt*; but were only anſwered That nothing
'would ſave the Nation but the Continuance of
'that Parliament. Altho' they would not ſay they
'would perpetuate it, at that Time leaſt of all,
'yet we found their Endeavours did directly tend to
'it; for they gave us this Anſwer, That the Things
'we had offered were of a tender and very weighty

'Con-

'Conſideration. They did make Objections how 'we ſhould raiſe Money, and ſome other Objec-'tions: We told them, that that we offered as an 'Expedient, becauſe we thought it better than that 'for which no Reaſon was, or Thought would be 'given. We deſired them to lay the Thing ſe-'rioufly to Heart: They told us they would take 'Conſideration of theſe Things till the Morning; 'that they would ſleep upon them. And I think 'that there was ſcarce any Day that there ſat above '50, 52, or 53. At the Parting, two or three 'of the Chief Ones, the very chiefeſt of them, did 'tell us, That they would endeavour the ſuſpend-'ing the Proceedings of the Repreſentative the 'next Day, 'till they had a further Conference, 'and we did acquieſce; and had Hope, if our Ex-'pedient could take up a loving Debate, that the 'next Day we ſhould have ſome ſuch Iſſue thereof 'as would have given a Satisfaction to all.

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'They went away late at Night; and the next 'Morning, we conſidering how to order that which 'we had to offer to them when they were to meet 'in the Evening, Word was brought they were 'proceeding with a Repreſentative, with all the 'Eagerneſs they could. We did not believe Perſons 'of ſuch Quality could do it. A ſecond and a third 'Meſſenger told us they had almoſt finiſhed it, and 'had brought it to that Iſſue, with that Haſte as had 'never been known before; leaving out the Things 'that did neceſſarily relate to due Qualifications, as 'we have heard ſince; and reſolved to make it a 'Paper Bill, not to engroſs it, that they might make 'the quicker Diſpatch of it: Thus to have thrown 'all the Liberties of the Nation into the Hands that 'never bled for it: Upon this Account we thought 'it our Duty not to ſuffer it, and upon this the 'Houſe was diſſolved.

'This we tell you, that you may ſo know that 'what hath been done in the Diſſolution of this 'Parliament, was as neceſſary to be done as the 'Preſervation of this Cauſe; and that Neceſſity 'that led us to do that, hath brought us to this

[illegible] Way and
[illegible]
[illegible] know the Lord,
[illegible] marvelous
[illegible] with this
[illegible] not accustom'd
[illegible]
[illegible] being confirmed in
[illegible] which I at other pre-
[illegible] that which we
[illegible] of Ne-
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[illegible] Govern-
[illegible] end we
[illegible] Singleness of
[illegible] Things,
[illegible] keep it
[illegible] for a Day; but as
[illegible] Strength and Ability,
[illegible] from
[illegible] Necessity. I say,
[illegible] Integrity,
[illegible] Power and
[illegible] Administration of it, hath
[illegible] Conclude of this
[illegible] we think we can-
[illegible] Confidences, but
[illegible] as I find before, for our
[illegible] Practice of
[illegible] Sense of
[illegible] the Go-
[illegible] Hands of others; it having
[illegible] Things have been
[illegible] conformant to Reason, together
[illegible] Charge in such a Way
[illegible] and to press to the Duty,
[illegible] to offer to you.
[illegible] you to this Work, by
[illegible] ever pass'd
[illegible] short a Time. And
[illegible] the Argument of Necessity,
[illegible] (Government must not fall) taking the

'Ap-

'Appearances of the Will of God in this Thing, 'I am ſure you would have been loath it ſhould 'have been reſigned into the Hands of wicked Men 'and Enemies. I am ſure God would not have it 'ſo: It comes therefore to you by way of Neceſ- 'ſity; it comes to you by the Way of the wiſe 'Providence of God, tho' through weak Hands: 'And therefore, I think, it coming through our 'Hands, tho' ſuch as we are, it may not be taken 'ill, if we offer to you ſomething as to the Diſ- 'charge of that Truſt which is incumbent upon 'you. And although I ſeem to ſpeak that which 'may have the Face of a Charge, it is a very 'humble one; and he that means to be a Servant 'to you, who are called to the Excerciſe of the 'Supreme Authority, to diſcharge that which he 'conceives is his Duty, in his own and his Fellows 'Names; to you who, I hope, will take it in good 'Part. And, truly, I ſhall not hold you long in 'that, becauſe I hope it is written in your Hearts 'to approve yourſelves to God; only this Scrip- 'ture I ſhall remember to you, which hath been 'much upon my Spirit, *Hoſea*, xi. 12. *Yet* Judah '*ruleth with God, and is faithful among the Saints*; 'it is ſaid before, Ephraim *did compaſs God about* '*with Lyes, and* Iſrael *with Deceit:* How God 'hath been compaſſed about with Faſtings and 'Thankſgivings, and other Exerciſes and Tranſ- 'actions, I think we have all to lament. Why, 'truly you are called by God to rule with him and 'for him; and you are called to be faithful with 'the Saints, who have been ſomewhat inſtrumen- 'tal to your Call: *He that ruleth over Men*, the 'Scripture ſaith, *muſt be juſt, ruling in the Fear of* '*God.*

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'And, truly, it is better that we ſhould pray 'for you than counſel you to exerciſe the Judg- 'ment of Mercy and Truth; I ſay, it is better 'that we ſhould pray for you than to adviſe you. 'Aſk Wiſdom from Heaven (which I am con- 'fident many Thouſands of Saints do this Day,

'and

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'and have done, and will do, through the Permiſſion of God, and his Aſſiſtance) to adviſe you: 'Only, truly, I thought of a Scripture likewiſe, 'that ſeems to be but a Scripture of common Application to every Man as a Chriſtian, wherein he 'is counſelled to aſk Wiſdom; and he is told what 'is that Wiſdom that is from above; *it is pure, peaceable, gentle, eaſy to be intreated, full of good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocriſy*; 'and my Thoughts ran thus upon this, that the 'executing of the Judgment of Truth, (for that is 'the Judgment that you muſt have Wiſdom from 'above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to 'execute the Judgment of Truth) and then, if 'God give you Hearts to be eaſy to be intreated, 'to be peaceable Spirits, to be full of good Fruits, 'bearing good Fruits to the Nation, to Men as 'Men, to the People of God, to all in their ſeveral 'Stations; this Wiſdom will teach you to execute 'the Judgment of Mercy and Truth. And I have 'little more to ſay to this; I ſhall rather bend my 'Prayers for you in that Behalf, as I ſaid before, 'and I know many others do alſo. Truly, the 'Judgment of Truth will teach you to be as juſt towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer, and it 'is our Duty to do ſo. I confeſs I have often ſaid it 'fooliſhly, if I would miſcarry I would rather do 'it to a Believer than to an Unbeliever; perhaps 'it is a Paradox; but let us take heed of doing it 'to either, exerciſing Injuſtice to either; if God 'fill our Hearts with ſuch a Spirit as *Moſes* and '*Paul* had, which was not only a Spirit for the 'Believers among the People of God, but for the 'whole People, he would have died for them; and 'ſo ſaith *Paul* to his Countrymen, according to 'the Fleſh, he could have died for them: Truly 'this will help us to execute the Judgment of 'Truth and Mercy alſo.

'A ſecond Thing is, to deſire you would be 'faithful with the Saints; and I hope, whatever 'others may think, it ought to be to us all a Matter 'of

'of rejoicing, that as one Perſon, our Saviour, was 'touched with our Infirmities, that he might be 'pitiful, I think this Aſſembly, thus called, is very 'much troubled with the common Infirmity of 'the Saints, and I hope that will teach you to pity 'others; that ſo Saints of one Sort may not be our 'Intereſt; but that we may have Reſpect unto all, 'though of different Judgments: And if I did ſeem 'to ſpeak any Thing that might ſeem to reflect 'upon thoſe of the Preſbyterian Judgment, I think 'if you have not an Intereſt of Love for them, you 'will hardly anſwer this Faithfulneſs to his Saints. 'I confeſs, in my Pilgrimage, and ſome Exerciſes 'I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture 'often in *Iſaiah*, xli. 19. when God gave me 'and ſome of my Fellows what he would do there 'and elſewhere, which he perform'd for us: And 'what would he do? to what End? *That he might 'plant in the Wilderneſs the Cedar and the Shittah 'Tree, and the Myrtle Tree and the Palm Tree to-'gether.* To what End? *That they might know, 'and conſider, and underſtand together that the Hand 'of the Lord hath done this, and that the Lord hath 'created it; that he hath wrought all Salvation and 'Deliverance which he hath wrought for the Good 'of the whole Flock:* Therefore I beſeech you (but 'I think I need not) have a Care of the whole 'Flock; love all the Sheep, love the Lambs; love 'all, and tender all, and cheriſh all, and counte-'nance all in all Things that are good; and if the 'pooreſt Chriſtian, the moſt miſtaken Chriſtian, 'ſhould deſire to live peaceably and quietly un-'der you, ſoberly and humbly deſire to lead a 'Life in Godlineſs and Honeſty, let him be pro-'tected.

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'I think I need as little adviſe you concerning 'the Propagation of the Goſpel, and encouraging 'ſuch Miniſters, and ſuch a Miniſtry as be faithful 'in the Land, upon whom the true Character is; 'Men that have truly received the Spirit for ſuch 'a Uſe, which Chriſtians will be well able to diſ-

'cover

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'cover, and do; Men that have received Gifts 'for the Work before-mentioned from him that 'ascended on high, and led Captivity captive: And 'truly the Apoſtle, *Romans* xii. when he had ſum-'med up all the Mercies of God and the Goodneſs 'of God; and had diſcourſed of the Foundations of 'the Goſpel, and of the ſeveral Things that are the 'Subject of his Diſcourſe in the firſt eleven Chap-'ters; after he had beſought them to *offer up their* 'Souls and Bodies a living Sacrifice to God, he be-'ſeecheth not to *eſteem more highly of themſelves than* 'they ought, but that they would be humble and 'ſober minded, and not ſtretch themſelves beyond 'their Line; but would have a Regard to thoſe 'that had received Gifts to thoſe Uſes there men-'tioned. I ſpeak not (it is far from my Heart) for a 'Miniſtry deriving itſelf thro' the Papacy, and pre-'tending to that which is ſo much inſiſted upon to 'be Succeſſion: The true Succeſſion is thro' the 'Spirit, given in that Meaſure that the Spirit is gi-'ven; and that is a right Succeſſion: But I need 'not diſcourſe of theſe Things to you; I am perſua-'ded you are taught of God in a greater Meaſure 'than myſelf in theſe Things. Indeed I have but 'one Word more to ſay, and that is, (though in 'that perhaps I ſhall ſhew my Weakneſs) by-way 'of Encouragement to you to go on in this Work.

'And give me Leave to begin thus: I confeſs I 'never look'd to ſee ſuch a Day as this; it may 'be nor you, when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall be own'd as 'he is this Day, and in this World: *Jeſus Chriſt* 'is own'd this Day by you all, and you own 'him by your Willingneſs in appearing here; 'and you manifeſt this, as far as poor Creatures 'can, to be a Day of the Power of *Chriſt* by your 'Willingneſs. I know you remember that Scrip-'ture in *Pſalm* cx. 3. *The People ſhall be willing* 'in the Day of thy Power: God doth manifeſt it 'to be a Day of the Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

'Having thro' ſo much Blood and ſo much Trials 'as have been upon theſe Nations, made this to 'be one of the great Iſſues thereof: To have a

'People

'People call'd to the Supreme Authority upon 'ſuch an avowed Account, God hath owned his 'Son by this; and you, by your Willingneſs, do 'own *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore, for my Part, I 'confeſs I did never look to ſee ſuch a Sight.

'Perhaps you are not known by Face one to 'another; but we muſt tell you this, that indeed 'we have not allowed ourſelves in the Choice of 'one Perſon in whom we had not this good 'Hope, that there was Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and 'Love to all his Saints and People. And thus 'God hath own'd you in the Face and Eyes of 'the World; and thus by your coming hither, 'have you own'd him, as it is in *Iſaiah* xliii. 21. '(it is an high Expreſſion, and look to your own 'Hearts whether now or hereafter God ſhall ap-'ply it to you) *This People*, ſaith he, *have I form-'ed for myſelf, that they might ſhew forth my 'Praiſe.* It is a memorable Place, and, I hope, 'not unfitly applied: God apply it to each of your 'Hearts. I ſhall not deſcant upon the Words; 'they are plain; you are as like the forming of 'God as ever People were. If any Man ſhould 'aſk you one by one, and ſhould tender a Book 'to you, you would dare to ſwear, that neither 'directly nor indirectly did you ſeek to come hi-'ther: You have been paſſive in coming hither, 'in being call'd hither; and that is an active 'Word.

'*This People I have form'd.* Conſider the Cir-'cumſtances by which you are called together; 'through what Difficulties, through what Strivings, 'through what Blood, you are come hither. Nei-'ther you nor I, nor no Man living, three Months 'ago, had a Thought to have ſeen ſuch a Com-'pany taking upon them, or rather being called to, 'the Supreme Authority; and therefore own your 'Call.

'Indeed, I think, as it may be truly ſaid, that 'never was a Supreme Authority conſiſting of ſo 'numerous a Body as you are, which I believe are

'above

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'above 140, who were ever in the Supreme Authority, under such a Notion, in such a Way of owning 'of God, and being owned by him; and therefore 'I say also, never a People formed for such a Purpose, so called; if it were a Time to compare your 'Standing with those that have been called by the 'Suffrages of the People. Who can tell how soon 'God may fit the People for such a Thing, and 'who would desire any Thing more in the World 'but that it might be so? I would all the Lord's 'People were Prophets; I would they were fit to 'be called, and fit to call; and it is the Longing of 'our Hearts to see them once own the Interest of '*Jesus Christ*: And give me Leave to say, if I know 'any Thing in the World, what is there more like 'to win the People to the Interest and Love of God? 'Nay what a Duty will lie upon you, to have your 'Conversation such, as that they may love you; 'that they may see you lay out your Time and Spirits for them? Is not this the most likely Way to 'bring them to their Liberties? And do you not 'by this put it upon God to find the Time and the 'Season for it? By pouring forth his Spirit, at 'least, by convincing them that, as Men fearing 'God have fought them out of their Thraldom 'and Bondage under the Regal Power, so Men 'fearing God rule them in the Fear of God, and 'take Care to administer Good unto them. But 'this is some Digression: I say, own your Call; for 'indeed it is marvelous and it is of God, and it 'hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and 'us; and that hath been the Way God hath dealt 'with us all along to keep Things from our Eyes; 'that in what we have acted we have seen nothing 'before us; which also is a Witness in some Measure to our Integrity. I say, you are called with 'a high Call, and why should we be afraid to say 'or think, that this Way may be the Door to usher 'in Things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and to set the Hearts of his People to 'wait for and expect? We know who they are 'that

'that ſhall war with the Lamb againſt his Enemies; 'they ſhall be a People called, choſen, and faith-'ful; and in the Military Way, (we muſt ſpeak 'it without Flattery) I believe you know it, he 'hath acted with them, and for them, and now in 'the Civil Power and Authority; and theſe are 'not ill Prognoſtications for that Good we wait 'for. Inter-regnum. 1653. July.

'Indeed I do think ſomething is at the Door, 'we are at the Threſhold; and therefore it be-'comes us to lift up our Heads, and to encourage 'ourſelves in the Lord: And we have ſome of us 'thought it our Duty to endeavour this Way, not 'vainly looking on that Propheſy in *Daniel*, *And 'the Kingdom ſhall not be delivered to another People.* 'Truly God hath brought it into your Hands, by 'his owning, and bleſſing, and calling out a Mili-'tary Power; God hath perſuaded their Hearts to 'be inſtrumental in calling you; and this hath been 'ſet upon our Hearts, and upon all the Faithful 'in the Land; it may be that it is not our Duty 'to deliver it over to any other People, and that 'Scripture may be fulfilling now to us: But I may 'be beyond my Line. But I thank God I have 'my Hopes exerciſed in theſe Things, and ſo I 'am perſuaded are yours: Truly, ſeeing that theſe 'Things are ſo, that you are at the Edge of the 'Promiſes and Prophecies; at leaſt, if there were 'neither Promiſe for this nor Propheſy, you co-'vet the beſt Things, you endeavour after the 'beſt Things; and as I have ſaid elſewhere, if I 'were to chuſe the meaneſt Officer in the Army 'or Commonwealth, I would chuſe a godly Man 'that hath Principles, eſpecially where Truſt is to 'be committed, becauſe I know where to have a 'Man that hath Principles. I believe if any Man 'of you ſhould chuſe a Servant you would do ſo; 'and I would all our Magiſtrates were ſo choſen; 'there may be good Effects of this. It is our Duty 'to chuſe Men that fear the Lord to praiſe the 'Lord, yea ſuch as the Lord forms for himſelf, 'and he expects not Praiſes from others: This be-

'ing

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'ing ſo, it puts me in Mind of another Scripture 'Pſalm, lxviii. 22. which indeed is a glorious Pro-'pheſy, and I am perſuaded of the Goſpel, or it 'may be of the *Jews* alſo; there it is propheſied, '*He will bring his People again out of the Depths 'of the Sea, as once he led* Iſrael *through the Red 'Sea.* And it may be ſome do think God is bring-'ing the *Jews* home to their Station from the Iſles 'of the Sea: Surely when God ſets up the Glory 'of the Goſpel Church, it ſhall be a Gathering 'People out of deep Waters, out of the Multi-'tude of Waters; ſuch are his People drawn out 'of the Multitudes of the Nations, and People of 'the World. And that Pſalm will be very glori-'ous in many other Parts of it, *When he gave the 'Word, great was the Company of them that pub-'liſhed it; Kings of the Armies did flee apace, and 'ſhe that tarried at home divided the Spoil: And 'although ye have lain among the Pots yet ſhall ye be 'as the Wings of a Dove covered with Silver, and 'her Feathers with yellow Gold.* And indeed the 'Triumph of that Pſalm is exceeding high and 'great, and God is accompliſhing it; and for the 'Cloſe of it, that cloſeth with my Heart, and I am 'perſuaded will with yours alſo, that God ſhakes 'Hills and Mountains and they reel; and God 'hath a Hill too, and his Hill is as the Hill of *Ba-'ſhan*; and the Chariots of God are 20,000 of 'Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill for 'ever.

'Truly, I am ſorry that I have troubled you, 'in ſuch a Place of Heat as this is, ſo long; all 'that I have to ſay in my own Name, and in the 'Names of my Fellow Officers, who have joined 'with me in this Work is, That we ſhall commend 'you to the Grace of God and to the Guidance of 'his Spirit. Having thus far ſerved you, or rather 'our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* in it, we are, as we hope, 'and ſhall be, ready in our Stations, according as 'the Providence of God ſhall lead us, to be ſub-'ſervient to the Work of God, and the Authority 'which we reckon God hath ſet over us. And

'although

'although we have no formal Thing to preſent you with, to which the Hands and outward viſible Expreſſions of the Hearts of the Officers of the three Nations are ſet; yet we may ſay for them, and we may ſay alſo with Confidence for our Brethren at Sea, with whom, neither in *Scotland*, nor *Ireland*, nor at Sea, hath any Artifice been uſed to perſuade their Approbations to this Work; yet we can ſay, that their Conſent and Affections hath flowed into us from all Parts beyond our Expectations: And we are confident we may ſay with all Confidence, that we have had their Approbations and full Conſent, unſought indeed to the other Work; ſo that you have their Hearts and Affections in this; and not only they, but we have very many Papers from the Churches of God throughout the Nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing Obſtacles, and approving what we have done in this very Thing. And having ſaid this, I ſhall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleaſed that this Inſtrument may be read, which I have ſigned by the Advice of the Council of Officers, we ſhall then leave you to your own Thoughts, and to the Guidance of God, to order and diſpoſe of yourſelves for further Meetings as you ſhall ſee Cauſe.'

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The Authority before cited proceeds to inform us, 'That when the Lord-General *Cromwell* had ended this very grave, chriſtian, and ſeaſonable Speech[f], his Excellency produced an Inſtrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intruſt the Supreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth unto the Perſons then met; any forty of whom were to be deem'd the Supreme Authority of the Nation, and to whom all Perſons within

[f] Mr. *Carrington*, in his Life of *Cromwell*, aſſerts, 'That this Speech was pronounced in ſo excellent a Manner, as ſufficiently manifeſted that (as the Lord-General himſelf was thoroughly perſuaded) the Spirit of God acted in and by him.'

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in the ſame were to yield Obedience and Subjection; but not to ſit longer than the third of *November*, 1654; and then other Members, being called, were to ſucceed them: That the ſaid Inſtrument being, by his Excellency, delivered to them, he did then commend them to the Grace of God. After which, his Lordſhip and the Officers being withdrawn, the ſaid Perſons ſo met, and having the Supreme Authority put into their Hands, after a ſhort Space, adjourn'd untill the Morning, and appointed to meet where the late Parliament ſat; there to keep that Day in Faſting and Prayer, to ſeek God for Direction in this great Work, and for his Preſence and Bleſſing therein; and all the ſaid Perſons at their Meeting, and all the Time of their being together, manifeſted a very great Chearfulneſs and Willingneſs to this Work.'

Before we enter upon the Proceedings of this Convention, we ſhall firſt exhibit a Liſt of the Names of the Perſons of whom it conſiſted, with the Places they were ſummoned to repreſent, *viz.*

Names of the Perſons to whom *Cromwell* delegated the Supreme Authority of the Nation.

BEDFORDSHIRE.
Nathaniel Taylor,
Edward Cater.

BERKSHIRE.
Samuel Dunch,
Vincent Goddard,
Thomas Wood.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
George Fleetwood,
George Baldwin.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.
John Sadler,
Thomas French,
Robert Caſtle,
Samuel Warner.

CHESHIRE.
Col. *Robert Duckenfield*,
Henry Birkhead.

CORNWALL.
Col. *Robert Bennet*,
Francis Langden,
Anthony Rous,
John Bawden.

CUMBERLAND.
Col. *Robert Fenwick*.

DERBYSHIRE.
Jervaſe Bennet,
Col. *Nathaniel Barton*.

DEVONSHIRE.
George Moncke, one of the Generals at Sea,
John

John Carew,
Major *Thomas Saunders*,
Chriſtopher Martin,
James Eriſey,
Francis Rouſe, Speaker[d],
Richard Sweet.

DORSETSHIRE.
Col. *William Sydenham*,
Col. *John Bingham*.

DURHAM.
Henry Daviſon.

ESSEX.
Col. *Joachim Matthews*,
Henry Barrington,
John Brewſter,
Chriſtopher Earl,
Dudley Templer.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
John Croſts,
William Neaſt,
Robert Holmes.

HEREFORDSHIRE.
Wroth Rogers,
John Herring.

HERTFORDSHIRE.
Col. *Henry Laurence*,
William Reeve.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.
Col. *Edward Montagu*,
Stephen Pheaſant.

KENT.
Lord Viſcount *Liſle*,
Col. *Thomas Blount*,
Col. *William Kenrick*,
William Cullen,
Andrew Broughton.

LANCASHIRE.
Col. *William Weſt*,
John Sawrey,
Robert Cunliffe.

LEICESTERSHIRE.
Col. *Henry Danvers*,
Edward Smith,
John Pratt.

LINCOLNSHIRE.
Sir *William Brownlow*,
Richard Cuſt,
Barnaby Bowtell,
Humphry Walcot,
William Thompſon.

MIDDLESEX.
Sir *William Roberts*,
Auguſtine Wingfield,
Arthur Squibb.

London.
Ald. *Robert Titchbnrne*,
Ald. *John Ireton*,
Samuel Moyer,
John Langley,
Capt. *John Stone*,
Henry Barton,
Praiſe-God Barbone.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.
Col. *Philip Jones*.

NORFOLK.
Robert Jermy,
Tobias

[d] Provoſt of *Eaton* College, and Member for *Truro* in the laſt Parliament. He publiſhed a Tranſlation of the *Pſalms*.

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Tobias Frere,
Ralph Wolmer,
Henry King,
William Burton.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bt.
Thomas Brooke.

NORTHUMBERLAND.
Henry Ogle.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
John Odinſels,
Edward Cludd.

OXFORDSHIRE.
Sir *Charles Wolſeley*,
William Draper,
Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*.

RUTLANDSHIRE.
Major *Edw. Horſeman*.

SHROPSHIRE.
William Bottrell,
Thomas Baker.

SOMERSETSHIRE.
Robert Blake, one of the Generals at Sea,
Col. *John Pine*,
Dennis Hollister,
Henry Henley.

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Col. *Richard Norton*,
Richard Major,
John Hildeſley.

STAFFORDSHIRE.
Bellot,
Chetwood.

SUFFOLK.
Jacob Caley,
Francis Brewſter,
Robert Dunkon,
Col. *John Clark*,
Edward Plumſtead.

SURREY.
Samuel Highland,
Lawrence March.

SUSSEX.
Anthony Stapeley,
William Spence,
Nathaniel Studeley.

WARWICKSHIRE.
John St. Nicholas,
Richard Lucy.

WESTMORELAND.
Col. *Charles Howard*.

WILTSHIRE.
Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*,
Nicholas Green,
Thomas Eyre.

WORCESTERSHIRE.
Major *Richard Salway*,
Col. *John James*.

YORKSHIRE.
George Lord *Eure*,
Walter Strickland,
Francis Laſcelles,
John Anlaby,
Thomas Dickenſon,
Thomas St. Nicholas,
Roger Coats,
Edward Gill.

WALES.

WALES.
Rice Powell,
John Price,
John Williams,
Hugh Owen,
Richard Price,
John Bruce.

SCOTLAND.
Sir *James Hope*, *Lord Hopton*,
Alexander Brodie,
John Smith,
William Lockhart,
Andrew Ker,

IRELAND
Sir *Robert King*,
Col. *John Hewson*,
Col. *Hierom Carmichael*,
Col. *John Jones*,
Col. *Daniel Hutchinson*,
Thomas Gardiner.

We ſhall now look into the Hiſtorians of the Times for the Characters of theſe Perſons, who, in this Unconſtitutional Manner, took upon them the Supreme Authority of Three Nations. Their Character.

Lord *Clarendon* [b] writes, 'That there were amongſt them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Eſtates, and ſuch a Proportion of Credit and Reputation as could conſiſt with the Guilt they had contracted: But that much the major Part of them conſiſted of inferior Perſons, of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meaneſt Trades, known only by their Gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practiſed by all Degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom: And in this Number, that there might be a better Judgment made of the reſt, his Lordſhip thought it not amiſs to name one, from whom that Parliament itſelf was afterwards denominated, who was *Praiſe-God Barbone*, a Leatherſeller in *Fleet-ſtreet*; from whom, he being an eminent Speaker in it, it was afterwards call'd *Praiſe-God Barbone*'s Parliament: And that, in a Word, they were generally a Pack of weak ſenſeleſs Fellows, fit only to bring the Name and Reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.'

Another Contemporary [c] ſtyles them 'A Set of Men for the moſt Part of ſuch mean and ignote Extraction,

[b] *Hiſtory*, Vol. VI. 8vo Edit. p. 482.
[c] *Flagellum, or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial, of* Oliver Cromwell, by Mr. *Heath*, p. 137.

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Extraction that ſo far were they from being taken Notice of by their Shires, each of whom (but two or three) repreſented, that they were ſcarce known in the very Towns where they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Exciſe, then Committees for Sequeſtration, and the War in the reſpective Counties, made them infamouſly known: And that the reſt were of *Cromwell*'s Partizans in the Parliament and High Court of Juſtice.'

Mr. *Whitlocke* [d] remarks, 'That many of this Aſſembly being Perſons of Fortune and Knowledge, it was much wondered by ſome that they would at this Summons, and from ſuch Hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation, conſidering how little Authority *Cromwell* and his Officers had to give it, or theſe Gentlemen to take it.'

We ſhall conclude the Character of the Members of this Convention with Mr. *Ludlow* [e]. This *Memorialiſt* informs us, 'That many of the Members of this Aſſembly had manifeſted a good Affection to the Public Cauſe; but ſome there were among them who were brought in as Spies and Trepanners; and though they had been always of the contrary Party, made the higheſt Pretenſions to Honeſty, and the Service of the Nation: That this Aſſembly therefore being compoſed, for the moſt Part, of honeſt and well-meaning Perſons, (who, having good Intentions, were leſs ready to ſuſpect the evil Deſigns of others) thought themſelves in full Poſſeſſion of the Power and Authority of the Nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of Laws relating to the Public.'

Though Hiſtorians differ ſo much in their Characters of this Aſſembly, yet they all ſeem to agree in paſſing over their Proceedings with the moſt affected Neglect: They do little more than mention their Coming together and their Diſſolution: We ſhall

[d] *Memorials*, p. 534.

[e] *Memoirs*, Vol II. p. 463.

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Theſe, and many other valuable Tracts, were Part of Biſhop *Moor*'s Library, purchaſed of his Executors by his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, and preſented by him to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in 1715. That Learned Body, in Senate, was pleaſed to paſs a Grace for the Loan of ſuch Volumes as the Compilers of this Work had Occaſion for: A Favour, which they think it their Duty gratefully to acknowledge.

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the Lord-General had ſaid to them at *Whitehall* the Day before; and what Expectation God's People had in this Commonwealth for them to do, in the Work of the Lord; and by Prayer, ſeeking to God for Direction and Aſſiſtance in this great Work, and for a Bleſſing upon their Endeavours therein: That much of the Preſence of *Chriſt*, and his Spirit, appeared at that Time, to the great gladding of the Hearts of many; ſome affirming they never enjoyed ſo much of the Spirit and Preſence of *Chriſt* in any of the Meetings and Exerciſes of Religion in all their Lives, as they did that Day.'

About Six in the Evening they proceeded to Buſineſs, and reſolved, That *Francis Rouſe*, Eſq; be called to the Chair. This was the only Ceremony they uſed in appointing their Speaker; and it was afterwards declared, That ſuch Perſons as were called to the Chair, in that Manner, ſhould be ſtyled *Speaker*. A Committee was nominated to go to the Lord-General, and deſire him to afford his Preſence and Aſſiſtance as a Member of the Houſe: They alſo reſolved that Major-General *Lambert*, Major-General *Harriſon*, Major-General *Deſborough*, and Colonel *Matthew Tomlinſon*, ſhould be called to ſit as Members; and appointed Mr. *Scobell* to be their Clerk.

And declare themſelves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

July 6. The Queſtion being put, That the Houſe go on in ſeeking the Lord this Day, it paſſed in the Negative, and *Monday* the 11th was appointed for that holy Exerciſe. They next altered ſome Miſnomers in the Inſtrument for their ſitting; and then fell into a Debate about the Style or Title wherein all Addreſſes ſhould be made to the Houſe: And the Queſtion being put, That the Title of *Parliament* be given to this Aſſembly, the Houſe divided into *Yeas*, 65; *Noes*, 46. And the further Debate concerning what Addition ſhould be made to the Word *Parliament*, was referred to the next Day, when theſe Words, *of the Commonwealth of* England, were added to it.

Nothing

Nothing elſe material this Day, except appointing *Edward Birkhead*, Eſq; to be their Serjeant at Arms, and nominating other Officers of the Houſe; in which ſpecial Care was to be taken, that no Perſon ſhould be employed or admitted into their Service, but ſuch as they were firſt well ſatisfied of their real Godlineſs. Inter-regnum. 1653. July.

July 9. The Houſe proceeded to elect a new Council of State, though upon the laſt Foundation; who were to act by the ſame Inſtructions, with ſome few Additions and Alterations. The Number that was to conſtitute this Body were 31, of which nine were to be a *Quorum*, *viz.* The Lord-General *Cromwell*; the Majors General *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and *Deſborough*; Col. *Matthew Tomlinſon*; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*; *Walter Strickland* and *John Carew*, Eſq^rs. the Colonels *Philip Jones*, *Stapley*, and *William Sidenham*; Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Col. *Bennet*, Major *Salway*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Richard Norton*, Alderman *Titchburne*, Col. *Hewſon*, Mr. *John Williams*, Mr. *Howard*, Mr. *H. Laurence*, Mr. *Holliſter*, Mr. *Courtney*, the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Major*, Col. *Montagu*, Mr. *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Sir *James Hope*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and Sir *Charles Wolſeley*. Several Committees were appointed for divers Affairs, particularly for thoſe of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. They elect a new Council of State.

The 11th of this Month was ſpent wholly by the Houſe in ſeeking the Lord, in a ſpecial Manner, for Counſel, and a Bleſſing on the Proceedings of this Parliament; when about twelve of the Members prayed and ſpoke till Four in the Afternoon. The Lord-General was preſent, and it was a comfortable Day. They ſpend a whole Day in Prayer;

We have before obſerved, That this Houſe had no Occaſion for a Chaplain: And from this Day their conſtant Method was, That as ſoon as about a Dozen Members were met, they began with Prayer; and ſo continued praying, one after another, till

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till there was a ſufficient Number aſſembled to make up a Houſe; and then the Speaker took the Chair.

July 12. The Houſe having ſpent the Day before in Prayer to God for his Counſel and Direction in their Affairs, a Committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration, to invite the People of this Commonwealth to ſeek unto the Lord for the ſame Bleſſing; which was done accordingly, ordered to be printed, and ſent to the Sheriffs, *&c.* of the ſeveral Counties and Cities in *England*, to be by them publiſhed in their reſpective Diſtricts, as follows:

And publiſh a Declaration, inviting the whole Nation to pray for God's Bleſſing upon their Government.

'BEing, ſince the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, in an extraordinary Manner, publickly ſummoned, and required to take upon us the Supreme Government of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; upon mature Deliberation, we have judged it meet and requiſite, for the preſent Peace and Safety of theſe Nations, to undergo that great and heavy Burden.

'And in order thereunto, we do declare ourſelves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; in which we are very ſenſible of a great Weight lying on us, and a great Truſt repoſed in us. And although we are compaſſed about with much Weakneſs and human Frailty, yet in Integrity, we hope, we may truly ſpeak before the Lord, That we do earneſtly deſire, and, with his Aſſiſtance, ſhall endeavour to demean ourſelves in all Things, as becometh thoſe who are ſet by God for the Good of all: And, in all, to be as tender of the Lives, Eſtates, Liberties, juſt Rights and Properties of all others, as we are of ourſelves and our Poſterities, whom we expect ſtill to be governed by ſucceſſive Parliaments.

'And although we are very tender of preſſing Covenants or Engagements, yet we expect and believe that all peaceful and good People of this Common-

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'Commonwealth will, in all Things, deport 'themſelves ſuitable to that Protection, which 'they do or may expect from us: And in this, we 'hope, well-grounded Confidence, we thus ſpeak 'to all the Lord's People, both in this and the 'neighbour Nations.

'We ſhould much condemn ourſelves of very 'great Unthankfulneſs to God, if we ſhould not 'always remember, and, upon all Occaſions, make 'Mention of, his Lovingkindneſs to thoſe Nations 'in the Day of their Trouble; in which the Lord 'hath already wrought ſo many great Things, as 'have exceeded, not only our Expreſſions, but our 'Hopes and Expectations: We are alſo very ſen-'ſible how much, under God, we owe to thoſe 'who, during the late Troubles, have in any Ca-'pacity wrought with the Lord, and been faithful 'with his People, in beginning and carrying on 'thoſe great Works, which have ſo much filled 'all our Enemies with Amazement, and our 'Friends with Admiration.

'Yet we cannot but acknowledge, that we are 'not yet at reſt, nor can believe we have yet en-'joyed or ſeen enough to accompliſh the Ends of 'God; or ſatisfy the Thoughts of Men for that vaſt 'Expence of Blood and Treaſure, which could not 'have been endured with any Patience, but in 'hope that, at length, thoſe bitter Pangs and Throws 'would make ſome Way for that long expected 'Birth of Peace, Freedom, and Happineſs, both 'to the Souls and Bodies of the Lord's People: 'And although we do not ſee it fully brought forth, 'yet we do not deſpair, but, in God's due Time, 'it ſhall be ſo; and that the dark black Clouds of 'the Night ſhall fly before the bright Morning-'Star, and the Shakings of Heaven and Earth 'make Way for the Deſire of all Nations: Nay, 'there are many Things which make us hope the 'Time is near at Hand; for we ſee the Clouds 'begin to ſcatter, and the dark Shadows fly away; 'Streams of Light appear, and the Day is ſurely 'dawned.

'Neither

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'Neither are we wholly alone in theſe Hopes; 'for if we be not very much deceived, many, if 'not all the People of God in all the World, are 'in a more than uſual Expectation of ſome great 'and ſtrange Changes coming on the World, which 'we believe can hardly be paralelled with any 'Times, but thoſe a while before the Birth of our 'Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. And we do not 'yet know that any Records of all the Nations in 'the World (we ſcarce except the *Jews* them-'ſelves) can afford ſuch a Series of Divine Provi-'dence, or more clear Impreſſions of the Goings 'forth and Actings of God in any People, than 'hath been in theſe Nations. And we are very 'confident, that thoſe who were our Enemies did 'not believe it only an Arm of Fleſh, but the Finger 'of God, and his almighty Hand which hath been 'lifted up and ſeen ſo eminent and wonderful: *Be 'ſilent then all Fleſh before the Lord, for he is rai-'ſed up out of his holy Habitation*, Zech. ii. 13.

'And as we believe the Lord hath never yet 'ſtept back, or withdrawn his mighty Arm, after 'he had gone ſo far, and done ſo much, and had 'made his People willing and deſirous ſtill to fol-'low him; ſo, we alſo hope, his great and free 'Goodneſs will not forſake his People here, or 'ſuffer them to forſake him, or to deal falſly with 'him in his Cauſe, till he hath accompliſhed his 'great Works, and brought about his great Ends, 'whoſe Gifts and Callings are without Repentance. 'Is the Lord's Hand ſhortened that he cannot ſave? 'Is he a Man that he ſhould turn, repent, with-'draw, or look back? Shall he bring to the Birth, 'and ſhall he not give Strength enough to bring 'forth? He is the ſame God, and changeth not. 'And if this be of God, it ſhall ſtand; and let 'every one take Heed of fighting againſt God: 'This is all we ſay, if it be from God, let him 'proſper and bleſs it; but if not, let it fall, though 'we fall before it.

'If indeed we ſtand up in our own Strength or 'Wiſdom, Piety or Policy, (that we ſay not Luſt,

Am-

'Ambition, Pride, or Avarice) the Lord himſelf 'will judge and find it out. But we hope himſelf 'hath, in ſome Meaſure, taught us his Goodneſs, 'and our Evil; his Strength and Wiſdom, but 'our Weakneſs and Fooliſhneſs: So that, when 'we look upon ourſelves, we are much afraid, and 'tremble at the mighty Work and heavy Weight 'before us; which we juſtly acknowledge far a-'bove, and quite beyond our Strength to weild or 'poize; ſo that we oft cry out and ſay with *Jeho-'ſhaphat, O Lord, we know not what to do, but 'our Eyes are towards thee.*

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'We are alſo, in ſome Meaſure, ſenſible how 'much it behoveth us to humble our Souls often 'before the Lord, and to ſeek his Face, in whom 'alone is all our Strength, and from whom alone 'muſt all our Help proceed. And although we de-'ſire to be frequent in this ourſelves (as we have 'already endeavoured in ſome poor Meaſure) yet 'we do ſo exceedingly value the fervent Prayers of 'the Lord's People, that we earneſtly deſire and 'entreat them all in their Approaches to the Throne 'of Grace, to be very mindful of us, and the 'weighty Work before us. And although we ac-'knowledge ſolemn Times of Faſting and Prayer 'to be Ordinances of great Uſe and Advantage in 'public or private, yet we deſire to be ſo exceeding 'tender, leſt we may haply inſnare any, or diſturb 'them in their own Occaſions or Worſhip of God, 'that we do not preſcribe or limit out the punctual 'Days or Times we would have ſet a-part for this 'great Work we deſire of them.

'But as now (for the ſhort Time of this preſent 'Parliament) we are ſet apart from our own Occa-'ſions for the Work of God and his People; ſo 'we again moſt earneſtly deſire of them (for whom 'we deſire to lay out ourſelves) that they alſo would 'be very faithful to God and us; and as the Lord 'ſhall give them Freedom, would give up them-'ſelves to ſolemn and moſt ſerious earneſt Prayers 'and Supplications to the God of all our Strength

'and

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'and Hopes: That he would pleaſe, in much 'Goodneſs, more and more to make and keep us 'little in our own Eyes; and of ſuch meek and 'humble Spirits, that he may delight to converſe 'with us, and to teach us to be yet more really 'ſelf-denying, and leſs confident of ourſelves; 'more dependent upon God, and more reſigning 'all we are, and all we have, to his holy Pleaſure; 'that he would pleaſe to ſhew us more of his own 'Will and our Way; that he would make us faith-'ful and courageous under him in all that he ſhall 'teach us for his Will and Way; and that he would 'ſo unite all our Hearts to himſelf, that, in the 'Power and Spirit of his Son *Jeſus*, we may be all 'one among ourſelves, and with all the People of 'God, who are Members of the Body of *Chriſt*; 'and from the ſame Head are all acted by the ſame 'Spirit, notwithſtanding any Diſtance, Difference, 'or ſeeming Deformity: That in all we may be 'fitted and uſed as Inſtruments in the Hand of 'God, for a more full and clear revealing of the 'Lord *Jeſus*, for the right Promulgation of his bleſ-'ſed Goſpel, and for the true Intereſt of his King-'dom, and Advancement thereof in the Hearts of 'Men, by real true Goodneſs, Righteouſneſs, 'Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt; that all op-'preſſing Yokes may be broken, and all Burdens 'removed, and the Loins alſo of the Poor and 'Needy may be filled with Bleſſing.

'And however it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to do by 'us, or to deal with us; if he ſhall ſay he hath 'no Pleaſure in us, we are moſt unworthy, *Here 'we are, let him do what is good in his own Eyes*; 'for he is holy in all his Ways, and righteous in 'all his Works; yet we humbly deſire that our-'ſelves, and all the People of God, may be ſtill 'faithful and fervent with him, wreſtling in Pray-'ers and Supplications, till he ſhall fully raiſe up 'his own Tabernacle, and build his Temple with 'his own Spirit, which he hath promiſed to pour 'upon all Fleſh; and raiſe up Governors after his

'own

'own Heart, and Teachers after his own Will, to make Exactors Peace, and Officers Righteouſneſs: That he may overcome the Evil of the 'World with his Goodneſs, and fill the whole 'Earth with his Glory; that his Will may be done 'on Earth as now in Heaven; that Righteouſneſs 'may ſpring out of the Earth, and may dwell here, 'and Righteouſneſs and Peace may kiſs each other; 'and that all his People may have one Lip, one 'Heart, one Conſent, and one Shoulder to bow 'down and worſhip him; that the Envy of *Judah* 'and *Ephraim* may be taken away; and that they 'may be one in the ſame Fold with one Shepherd; 'that all Wars may ceaſe to the Ends of the Earth, 'and that all Nations may turn their Swords and 'Spears into Plough-Shares and Pruning-Hooks; 'that the Wolf may feed with the Lamb, and the 'Earth be full of the Knowledge of God as Wa-'ters cover the Sea; that upon every Houſe or Aſ-'ſembly may be a Cloud by Day, and a Pillar of 'Fire by Night, as is promiſed, and was of old 'upon the Tabernacle; that every one may be 'holy, and the Pots, nay, the Bells upon the 'Horſes, may be Holineſs to the Lord.

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'And that in Peace and Joy we may all wait, 'expect and long for his glorious Coming, who 'is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, our Hope 'and Righteouſneſs; who is ſtill to ride on pro-'ſperouſly, conquering and to conquer, till he hath 'ſubdued all his Enemies; and, at length, come 'to deliver up the Kingdom to his Father, that 'God may reign, and be all in all.'

July 13. The Houſe now began to ſhew that their Intentions were not confined to Religious Matters only; for they revived the Conſideration of the Bill, never got through in the laſt Parliament, for correcting the Grievances and Inconveniences in the Proceedings of the Law; and alſo another on the Buſineſs of Tythes: This laſt Bill was debated for ſeveral Days enſuing, without any other material Buſineſs interfering, and at length referr'd to

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to a Committee, to ſit *Wedneſday* and *Friday* in every Week; wherein the Property of Incumbents in Tythes, as alſo the Caſe of Proprietors and Poſſeſſors of impropriated Tythes, were to be conſidered, and reported to the Houſe.

Committees appointed to redreſs Grievances, correct Abuſes, and ſettle public Affairs.

July 20. The Houſe nominated and appointed divers other Committees; and, beſides thoſe for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, there was one for the Buſineſs of the Law; another for the Army; for inſpecting the Treaſuries, and regulating the Officers thereof and their Salaries; for receiving Petitions; for Trade and Corporations; for receiving Propoſals for the Advantage of the Commonwealth; for the Poor, and inquiring into the Revenues of Hoſpitals; for regulating the Commiſſions of Peace throughout the Nation; for Public Debts; for receiving Accuſations of Bribery, public Frauds, and Breach of public Truſt, with Power to give Coſts to Perſons unjuſtly accuſed; for Priſons and Priſoners. There were alſo other Committees appointed for Advancement of Learning, and receiving all Propoſitions tending thereto; for removing all Laws and Ordinances which are Hindrances to the Progreſs of the Goſpel; and, laſtly, the Houſe revived an Act for Redreſs of Delays and Miſchiefs ariſing on Writs of Error, Writs of falſe Judgment, and Arreſts of Judgment: All which look'd extremely well, and had the Appearance, at leaſt, of eſtabliſhing good Government in the Nation.

The reſt of this Month was taken up with ſettling the Number and Names of the ſeveral Servants that were to attend the Houſe; as alſo the Salaries and Fees aſſigned to them. Some Courts of Juſtice had Judges appointed for them, particularly the Court of Admiralty.

Auguſt 1. The Houſe, being this Day inform'd how much the Country had been burdened, in the Manner of collecting the Exciſe, and oppreſſed by the Officers thereof, referred it to the Committee of

of Parliament appointed to inſpect the Treaſuries, and regulate Officers and Salaries, to conſider how the Exciſe might be brought in with the greateſt Eaſe to the People; and how the Oppreſſions and Burdens, in the managing of that Buſineſs, might be redreſſed for the future. Inter-regnum 1653. Auguſt.

The ſame Day Sir *Charles Wolſeley* reported, from the Council of State, a Petition of *Charles* Earl of *Derby*, which was read, as follows:

To the Supreme Authority of this Nation, the PARLIAMENT *of the* COMMONWEALTH *of* England,

The HUMBLE PETITION *of* CHARLES *Earl of* DERBY,

Sheweth,

A Petition of *Charles* Earl of *Derby*, for Relief;

'THAT your poor Petitioner hath long attended the late Houſe of Parliament, praying their Relief for a Maintenance out of his late Father's Eſtate, for himſelf, his Wife, and Children; but could never yet be ſo much as heard.

'That the Council of State, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, was pleaſed to grant unto your Petitioner 500*l.* *per Annum*, out of his Mother's Sequeſtration, as a Relief to him, his Wife, and Children, till further Order.

'That God having now put the Power of doing Juſtice, and relieving innocent ſuffering Perſons, into your Hands, hath emboldened your Petitioner, in Behalf of himſelf, his Wife, and Children, to preſent to your Honours the true State of your Petitioner's Condition; beſeeching,

'That God would put it into your Thoughts to take it into ſerious Conſideration; your Petitioner being in Danger every Hour to be arreſted and laid up in Priſon, for his neceſſitated Debts entered into, for want of Maintenance out of his late Father's Eſtate; (your Petitioner hitherto enjoying no Benefit by the Order of the Council of State) and to order therein what in your charitable Wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet.

And your Petitioner ſhall pray, &c.'

In

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In Conſequence of this Petition, the Houſe reſolved to allow the Earl of *Derby* 500*l. per Annum*, to be ſettled upon him and his Heirs, out of ſuch Part of his late Father's Eſtate as was then unſold; and a Bill was order'd to be brought in for that Purpoſe.

The Houſe allow him 500*l. per Annum*.

Aug. 2. Mr. *Rouſe* having now ſat a Month in the Chair, as Speaker, he took his Place this Day as a Member; but, by the general Voice, was again called to the Chair, to keep it for one Month longer; from which Time he continued to be choſen Speaker every Month, till the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

Proceedings againſt Col. *John Lilburne*.

In the Proceedings of *February*, 1651, Notice was taken that Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne* (whoſe Trials and Sufferings have been ſo often mentioned in the Courſe of this Work) was order'd by the laſt Parliament to be baniſhed; but hearing of their Diſſolution, and the Change of Government conſequent thereon, he ventured to come back to *England*; and, by Letter, applied to the Lord-General *Cromwell* for Protection, which he denying him, *Lilburne* was thrown into *Newgate*, and ſoon after ordered to be tried at the *Old Bailey*; but putting in Exceptions to the Bill of Indictment, the Trial was put off to the next Seſſions. Hereupon a Petition was this Day preſented to the Houſe, in his Favour, intitled, *The Humble Petition of divers well-affected and conſtant Adherers to the Intereſt of Parliaments, and their own Native and Fundamental Rights and Freedoms therein concerned, young Men and Apprentices of the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *Borough of* Southwark, *and the Parts adjacent*. This Petition was preſented by ſix Perſons, who being withdrawn, and called in again to the Bar, the Speaker aſk'd their Names; to which one of them anſwered, Their Names were to the Petition. And being again aſk'd, If he knew of the making of this Petition; he ſaid, He was commanded by the reſt of his Friends and Fellow-Apprentices

prentices not to anſwer any Queſtions, but to demand an Anſwer to their Petition: Upon which they were ordered to withdraw, when the Houſe voted the Petition to be a moſt high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament; ſcandalous and ſeditious; and the ſix Perſons who deliver'd it, to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; which was done accordingly. They were afterwards ſent to *Bridewell*, there to be kept to hard Labour during the Pleaſure of the Houſe, who alſo referred it to the Council of State to examine the Authors, Subſcribers, Abettors, and Printers of this Petition; and reſolved, That Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne* ſhould be kept cloſe Priſoner; and that the Keeper of *Newgate* do take Care to ſee the ſame done accordingly. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

The War with the *Dutch* ſtill continued to be carried on with Vigour on both Sides, and about this Time another bloody Sea-Fight happened between the two contending Maritime Powers for the Empire of the Narrow Seas. The News of this Victory was ſent in a Letter from General *Moncke*, dated from on board the *Reſolution*, off *Camper-Down*, *July* 31, 1653, addreſſed to the Lord-Preſident of the Council of State, and reported to the Houſe, as follows:

Right Honourable,

'HOW great and wonderful the Lord hath been unto this Fleet, hath plainly appeared by his mighty and glorious Preſence going along with us to the Ruin of our Enemies, and Preſervation of his poor Servants, as will in ſome Meaſure appear by the enſuing Relation: Gen. *Moncke's* Account of the Defeat of the *Dutch* Fleet.

'Upon the 29th of this Month, about Nine in the Morning, the Wind at North-Weſt, having weighed Anchor the Night before from the *Texel*, a Fleet was diſcovered by our Scouts a-head; which, within two Hours after, appeared to be the *Dutch* Fleet come from the *Weillings*, conſiſting of 97 Sail, or thereabouts, whereof 90

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'having made a Conjunction with them the Day before, there began a very hot Diſpute with them, which ſo continued till One in the After-noon, the Enemy having the Wind of us all the while, whereby he had the Opportunity of taking all Advantages; yet truly may we ſay, great was the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praiſed for his glorious Appearance on our Behalf; for by this Time the Lord had ſo daunted their Spirits, that they began to bear away from us, making all the Sail they could with the Remainder of their Fleet, being not above 60 of their whole Number; for, ſo far as I can gather, there cannot be leſs than 30 or 40 ſunk, taken, and deſtroyed.

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'We are now in Purſuit of them with ſome of our beſt ſailing Frigates, being almoſt up with ſome of their ſternmoſt; and our Expectations ſtill are great that the Lord will perfect the Work thus far begun and carried on; which I hope will be to the Glory of his Grace in us, as well as without us. The Enemy had nine Flag-Ships when he firſt engaged, and now but one left, and *Tromp*'s tied to the Top-maſt, ſo far as I can diſcern. But I ſaw two of our own fired by the Enemy's Fire-ſhips, whereof one was the *Oak*, whoſe Men were moſt of them ſaved; the other a Fire-ſhip.

'In the Fight the *Reſolution*, with the *Worceſter* Frigate, led the *Engliſh* Fleet, in a deſperate and gallant Charge, through the whole *Dutch* Fleet. *Van Tromp*'s Top-maſt was ſhot down, which he would have ſet up again, but could not, and ſo was fain to put his Flag upon his near Maſts. Thoſe of the *Dutch*, that are got into the *Texel*, are much ſhattered; *Tromp*'s Vice-Admiral ſunk down by his Side. I am

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,
GEORGE MONCKE.

The next Day a Letter from Admiral *Moncke*, to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read in the Houſe, adviſing, 'That in the above Engagement the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp* was kill'd by a

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'were Men of War, as far as we could diſcern: 'Whereupon we made what Sail we could after 'them, fitting our Ships in the mean Time for an 'Engagement; but the Enemy tack'd about, and 'ſtood away from us when they perceived what we 'were; ſo that it was Five o'Clock in the Even-'ing before any of our Frigates could come up to 'engage them, which they did; and, about Seven 'o'Clock, this Ship, with as many Ships and Fri-'gates as made up 30 Sail, engaged with them, the 'reſt being a-ſtern could not get up; however, we 'fell to the Work, and continued fighting till Night 'ſeparated us, which was about Nine o'Clock. Af-'ter which Time, it being dark, all Hands were at 'Work to bring ſome new Sails to the Yards, and 'mend our Rigging, wherein we had ſuffered very 'much in ſo ſhort a Time; there were kill'd out-'right in this Ship, by this Evening's Diſpute, 'about 16 or 17, and 25 wounded, whereof 14 'dangerouſly. The Enemy got the Weather-Gage 'of us this Night, by ſtanding to the Northward 'while we ſtood to the Southward, ſuppoſing they 'had been under our Lee, which appeared to the 'contrary in the Morning, for they were much to 'Windward of us. Yeſterday little was done as 'to an Engagement, both Fleets finding it Work 'enough to get off from the Lee-Shore, having the 'Wind at W. N. W. blowing hard, with thick 'and dirty Weather, which was the worſt for us, 'being on an Enemy's Country.

'This Morning it being fair Weather and 'little Wind, both Fleets prepared for a ſecond 'Engagement, the Enemy bearing in upon us, ha-'ving the Wind of us. To this Time the Lord 'ſeemed to encourage the Enemy, by laying the 'Scales, as it were, in a Balance, ſo that neither 'could tell which had the better: But good was 'the Lord unto us, who knew the beſt Time for 'Manifeſtation of his own Glory, in appearing for 'his own People, though unworthy of ſo great a 'Mercy; for, about Seven in the Morning, the 'great Ships from the *Texel*, being 25 in Number,

'ha-

'having made a Conjunction with them the Day before, there began a very hot Diſpute with 'them, which ſo continued till One in the After-'noon, the Enemy having the Wind of us all the 'while, whereby he had the Opportunity of taking 'all Advantages; yet truly may we ſay, great was 'the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praiſed 'for his glorious Appearance on our Behalf; for by 'this Time the Lord had ſo daunted their Spirits, 'that they began to bear away from us, making all 'the Sail they could with the Remainder of their 'Fleet, being not above 60 of their whole Num-'ber; for, ſo far as I can gather, there cannot be 'leſs than 30 or 40 ſunk, taken, and deſtroyed.

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'We are now in Purſuit of them with ſome of 'our beſt ſailing Frigates, being almoſt up with 'ſome of their ſternmoſt; and our Expectations ſtill 'are great that the Lord will perfect the Work thus 'far begun and carried on; which I hope will be 'to the Glory of his Grace in us, as well as without 'us. The Enemy had nine Flag-Ships when he 'firſt engaged, and now but one left, and *Tromp*'s 'tied to the Top-maſt, ſo far as I can diſcern. But 'I ſaw two of our own fired by the Enemy's Fire-'ſhips, whereof one was the *Oak*, whoſe Men 'were moſt of them ſaved; the other a Fire-ſhip.

'In the Fight the *Reſolution*, with the *Worceſter* 'Frigate, led the *Engliſh* Fleet, in a deſperate and 'gallant Charge, through the whole *Dutch* Fleet. '*Van Tromp*'s Top-maſt was ſhot down, which he 'would have ſet up again, but could not, and ſo 'was fain to put his Flag upon his near Maſts. 'Thoſe of the *Dutch*, that are got into the *Texel*, 'are much ſhattered; *Tromp*'s Vice-Admiral ſunk 'down by his Side. I am

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,
GEORGE MONCKE.

The next Day a Letter from Admiral *Moncke*, to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, was read in the Houſe, adviſing, 'That in the above Engage-'ment the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp* was kill'd by a

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Muſket-Shot in the Left Breaſt[k]; with ſeveral Captains and a vaſt Number of Sailors; and that the *Engliſh* had taken about 1000 Priſoners, beſides the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand* and many Officers; with the Loſs of only 250 Men, and about 700 wounded, amongſt which were 12 Captains.'

After reading theſe Letters the Houſe gave Orders for taking Care of Neceſſaries for the Relief of the ſick and maimed Seamen and Soldiers: They alſo reſolved That a convenient Houſe ſhould be provided in or near *Dover*, *Deal*, or *Sandwich*, for their Accommodation: That one Moiety of all the Hoſpitals for Sick throughout *England* be reſerved for the Service of the Navy; and that Proviſion be made for the Wives and Children of the Captains and Sailors ſlain in this Engagement; who were alſo to be admitted to make Probate of their Huſbands and Fathers Wills without Payment of any Fees.

Aug. 4. The following Petition was this Day preſented to the Houſe by ſome Juſtices of Peace of the County of *Kent*:

To the PARLIAMENT *of the* COMMONWEALTH *of* ENGLAND.

A Petition from the County of *Kent*, for aboliſhing of Tythes.

'ALthough the Kings of the Earth have been unwilling that the Anointed *Jeſus* ſhould reign, yet the Obſervation of the Outgoings of the Moſt High, in theſe latter Days, cauſeth your Petitioners to believe that the Day of the Accompliſhment of the Promiſes on the Behalf of the Sun of Righteouſneſs is dawned, if not approached very near its Noon; who is weary always to behold the Burdens on the Backs, the Yokes on the Necks, and to hear the Groans

[k] The States General not only cauſed the Corpſe of *Van Tromp* to be interr'd in the moſt ſolemn Manner at *Delft*, but alſo order'd a Medal to be ſtruck in Honour of his Memory. In the Front the Admiral's Buſt; on the Reverſe, a Repreſentation of a Sea Fight; with this Inſcription in *Dutch*, MARTIN HARPERTZ TROMP, *Kt. Vice-Admiral of* Holland, *died for his Country*, Aug. 20, 1653. *Hiſtoire Metallique de* Holland, *par* Bizot, Tome II. p. 225.

'Groans and Cries from the Mouths of his People; wherefore he hath poured forth a Spirit, which hath encountered and vanquiſhed our open Oppreſſors, and poured Contempt upon thoſe who would be but partial Deliverers; the Sun of whoſe Power ſet at Noon, becauſe it ripened not the Deſires and Petitions of God's People by a favourable Influence, but ſuffered their Hopes to blaſt, after ſo many Promiſes and Proteſtations, and ſo much Expence of Treaſure and Blood. The ſame God who hath pulled them down hath ſet you up; but not to rule for yourſelves, but for the People of God; not to ſeek your own, but the Honour of *Chriſt*: And we can do no leſs than hope and pray, That the Spirit of the Lord may fall down upon you, and teach you to rule after the Heart of *Chriſt*, to whom we make bold to make this humble Addreſs; not to interrupt your weighty Affairs, or miſdoubting your Wiſdom and Faithfulneſs; but only to ſhew how our Hearts own you as our Parliament; and to confeſs that we dare not neglect our Aſſiſtance to the great Work of the Lord, though it be but in being your Remembrancers of what you have propoſed to us of your Deſires, in your late Declaration, to the breaking of all our Yokes, and removing all our Burdens, at which our Souls joy. And to keep warm the Breathing of that Spirit, we humbly crave Leave to ſpread before you one grand Burden, under which we have groaned till our Hearts ach; humbly deſiring,

That Tythes of all Sorts, Root and Branch, may be aboliſhed; that that *Jewiſh* and *Antichriſtian* Bondage and Burden on the Eſtates and Conſciences of the Godly may ceaſe; and that we may not be inſnar'd with forced Maintenance, or any Thing like it in the Stead thereof.

And your Petitioners ſhall own the Lord in you, and bleſs the Lord for you; and pray, hope, and wait to ſee your Hands ſtretched out for the Lord, till you ſhall help to tear the Fleſh of the Whore, and burn her with Fire.'

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The Petitioners being called in again, the Speaker, by Command of the Houſe, returned them this Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

THE Houſe doth take Notice of your good Affection to the Parliament; and hath commanded me to tell you, That the Buſineſs in your Petition is and ſhall be, in due Time, under Conſideration; and that the Houſe will do therein as the Lord ſhall direct them.

The Court of Chancery voted down.

Aug. 5. This Day the Houſe took into Conſideration the Buſineſs of the High Court of Chancery, and reſolved that the ſame be forthwith taken away; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in for that Purpoſe, by the Committee of the Law. It was referred alſo to that Committee, to conſider how the Cauſes now depending in Chancery might be determined; and likewiſe a Proviſion made for the deciding Matters of Equity for the future, and putting in Order other Matters of Law, within the Juriſdiction of that Court.

Mr. *Whitlocke*, who was at this Time one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, writes, 'That the Debate upon the Motion for putting down the Court of Chancery held moſt Part of two Days:' But neither this Memorialiſt, nor any other Hiſtorian that we know of, gives us any of the Arguments offered on that Subject. We ſhall therefore endeavour to ſupply the Deficiency from an anonymous Member of this Parliament, who publiſhed a ſhort Abſtract of their Proceedings[g]. This Gentleman informs us, 'That in the Courſe of the Debate the Court of Chancery was called, by ſome Members, the greateſt Grievance in the Nation: Others ſaid, That for Dilatorineſs, Chargeableneſs, and a Faculty of bleeding the People in the Purſe-Vein, even to their utter Periſhing and Undoing, that Court might compare with, if not ſurpaſs, any Court in the World: That it was confidently affirmed by knowing Gentlemen, of Worth, that there

[g] *An exact Relation*, &c. before cited.

there were depending in that Court Twenty-three Thouſand Cauſes, ſome of which had been there depending five, ſome ten, ſome twenty, ſome thirty Years, and more: That there had been ſpent therein many Thouſands of Pounds, to the Ruin, nay utter Undoing, of many Families: That no Ship almoſt that ſailed in the Sea of the Law, but firſt or laſt put into that Port; and, if they made any conſiderable Stay there, they ſuffered ſo much Loſs, that the Remedy was as bad as the Diſeaſe: That what was ordered one Day was contradicted the next, ſo as in ſome Cauſes there had been five hundred Orders and more. That when the Purſes of the Clients began to be empty, and their Spirits were a little cooled, then, by a Reference to ſome Gentlemen in the Country, the Cauſe ſo long depending, at ſo great a Charge, came to be ended; ſo that ſome Members did not ſtick to term the Chancery a Myſtery of Wickedneſs, and a ſtanding Cheat. And that, in ſhort, ſo many horrible Things were affirm'd of it, that thoſe who were, or had a Mind to be, Advocates for it, had little to ſay on the Behalf of it; and ſo at the End of one Day's Debate, the Queſtion being put, it was voted down.'—This Unanimity of the Houſe ſeems confirm'd by the *Journals*, for it appears by thoſe Authorities, that the Reſolution for aboliſhing the Court of Chancery paſſed without any Diviſion of the Houſe. Inter-regnum. 1653. Augſt.

There were alſo printed at this Time, and delivered to the Members, two Papers, which ſeem to have greatly contributed to haſten the foregoing Vote: Theſe we ſhall therefore give from the original Editions in our *Collections* [h]. And firſt,

OBSERVATIONS *concerning the Court of* CHANCERY, *preſented to the Parliament.*

1. 'IF we look back into antient Times, we ſhall find the Buſineſs of the Chancery to be but little, and the Officers and Clerks but few; namely, a Chief Clerk, who was Maſter of the Rolls; three

[h] Printed by *R. Ibbotſon*, and licenſed according to the late Act.

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'three Attornies or writing Clerks, who diſpatch'ed the Buſineſs now done in the Six-Clerks Of'fice; one Regiſter, and one Examiner; all which, 'except the Chief Clerk, were writing Clerks, for 'Diſpatch of the Buſineſs of the Court, and taking 'Care of Clients Cauſes; and for ſuch their Care 'and Pains they received all the Fees which the 'Clients paid, except only what was due to the 'Maſter of the Rolls; which Fees then paid, al'though the Certainty of them is not known, yet 'it is more than probable the ſame were not ſo 'great as now are taken; but then, the Labourer 'receiving his full Wages, the Buſineſs was well 'and ſoon diſpatched, and the Records well kept.

2. 'It is obſerved that as the Buſineſs of the 'Court increaſed, the Attornies increaſed to the 'Number of ſix, and the Examiners to the Num'ber of two, and ſo kept themſelves at that Num'ber; and as the Buſineſs farther increaſed, the 'Attornies, Examiners, and Regiſter, by the Con'ſent of the ſeveral Maſters of the Rolls, from 'Time to Time increaſed their Clerks, and caſt 'all the Care, Pains, and Burden of Cauſes, and 'all Diſburſements for Clients, upon their Clerks; 'and they wholly withdrew themſelves from the 'Duty of their Places, and became overſeeing Of'ficers, and not writing Clerks, according to their 'primitive Conſtitution; and then their only Care 'was to contrive Rules and Methods of Practice, 'with many tedious and unneceſſary Formalities, 'in ſuch Manner as that no Buſineſs might paſs by 'them undiſcovered, nor any Fees unpaid; and 'this occaſioned great Expence to the Clients, and 'much more Pains to the Under-Clerks than was 'neceſſary.

3. 'It may be obſerved that, notwithſtanding 'ſuch Rules of Practice preſcribed by the Six Clerks, 'yet the labouring Clerks of that Office (to whoſe 'Care only the Clients commit their Cauſes, and 'depend upon them for the Management thereof) 'do often conceal the Buſineſs, and the Fees due 'for the ſame from the Six Clerks, and ſatisfy 'them-

'themſelves touching the Lawfulneſs thereof, as well in regard they often diſburſe Money for their Clients to the Six Clerks, which they never receive again; as alſo for that the whole Care and Burden lies upon them, and not upon the Six Clerks (they being indeed the true and lawful Attornies of the Court to all Intents and Purpoſes, and in all Reſpects, except in Name only): But by reaſon of theſe Concealments of Buſineſs and Fees, the Cauſes are not proceeded in, and proſecuted in that formal and regular Way of Practice which is directed by the Six Clerks; and as often as it is diſcovered the Clerk ſuffers Diſgrace, and the Clients much Delay and Damage: And this is the moſt common and greateſt Grievance before the hearing of Cauſes. Inter-regnum. 1653. August.

4. 'Alſo it is to be obſerved, that there are the like Inconveniences in the Regiſters Office and the Examiners Office, by reaſon the Maſters of the ſame ſeveral Offices receive almoſt all the Fees due from the Clients, and leave their Clerks to receive Expedition-Money, and other unjuſt Rewards, from the Clients, without which they could not ſubſiſt. And as for the Subpœna Office and Affidavit Office, being monopolized but in King *James*'s Time, there is no Uſe at all of them; nor were they erected for any other End but to put the Clients to unneceſſary Expences and Delays, and the practiſing Clerks to needleſs Trouble.

5. 'It is very evident and manifeſt that all the Miſchiefs and Inconveniences, before-mentioned, came to paſs thus: In reſpect the ſeveral Maſters of the Rolls for the Time being (as Chief Clerks of that Court) having the Nomination of the Six Clerks, Examiners, and Regiſter, found it more profitable to continue them at that ſmall Number, and ſell their Offices for great Sums of Money to Men altogether ignorant of the Practice of the Court, than to admit deſerving Men *gratis*, as by the Duty of theſe Places they ought to

'have

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'have done; and, as the Buſineſs increaſed, to 'have increaſed able and honeſt working Attor- 'nies, as the Judges of other Courts of Juſtice 'did.

6. 'There are Inconveniences in the Proſecu- 'tion of Cauſes which concern Clients; as, name- 'ly, When Defendants will willingly ſtand out all 'Proceſs of Contempt, (which, according to the 'Rules preſcribed by the Six Clerks, requires a 'Year's Time to proſecute) and then pay 40 *s.* 'Coſts, and make an inſufficient Anſwer; and, 'that being over-ruled, ſtand out all Proceſs of 'Contempt as at firſt, and then make a ſecond 'inſufficient Anſwer, and ſo a third and fourth; 'ſo that ſometimes Defendants cannot be com- 'pelled to make perfect Anſwers in two or three 'Years: And ſometimes Plaintiffs likewiſe prefer 'vexatious Suits againſt Defendants, and keep 'them long in Suſpence without any effectual Pro- 'ſecution: But this, although fit to be rectified, is 'not altogether ſo miſchievous as the former.

7. 'Many other Inconveniences may be obſer- 'ved at and after the hearing of Cauſes, more pre- 'judicial to Clients than the former; for it may 'be obſerved (beſides the many impertinent and 'unneceſſary Orders made in Cauſes, pending the 'Suit) that Cauſes of late Times are heard not 'only once or twice, but five or ſix Times, by rea- 'ſon of which often Attendance, and the Great- 'neſs of Counſels Fees, (which are fit to be mo- 'derated) Clients are put to a very great and vaſt 'Expence; and the Orders many Times are ſo 'weakly and uncertainly pronounced, that none 'that hear them know what they are; and there- 'upon the Regiſters take the Liberty to draw what 'they pleaſe; and the Weakneſſes of the Judges 'do often occaſion needleſs References to Maſters 'of the Court, where there are many Times very 'unfair Proceedings.

8. 'For it is moſt notoriouſly known that the 'Maſters of the Court, although there be no Fee

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'due to them from the Client, yet they, moſt of 'them, are very much guilty of taking unjuſt Fees 'and Rewards, tending very much to the Wrong 'and Prejudice of Clients: And the Deputy-Re-'giſters are likewiſe too much guilty of this Crime. Inter-regnum. 1653. August.

9. 'And laſtly it is obſerved, that after Decrees 'are paſt, there is a tedious Proſecution on the 'Plaintiff's Part before he can have the Benefit 'thereof; by reaſon whereof he often loſeth all 'his Labour and Charge, and never reaps the 'Fruit of the Decree.'

PROPOSALS *tendered to the Parliament, for the Regulation or taking away of the Court of* CHANCERY, *and ſettling Buſineſs of Equity according to the original and primitive Conſtitution of it; and for taking away all unneceſſary Fees, Offices and Officers, and Formalities now uſed, and for the ſpeedy Diſpatch of Buſineſs.*

1. 'THAT the Court as it is now uſed, or 'rather abuſed, be wholly taken away; 'and that ſome of the moſt able and honeſt Men 'may be appointed for keeping of the Great 'Seal, and authorized to examine, hear, and de-'termine all Cauſes of Equity; and impowered to 'put in Execution their Judgments and Decrees in 'the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Expedition, 'as Judgments at Common Law are: For as long 'as the Bar is more able than the Bench, as of 'late it hath been, the Buſineſs of the Court can 'never be well diſpatched (and former Times have 'thought the moſt able Men but fit for this Em-'ployment); and that the Judges of the Court may 'have Power likewiſe to puniſh Perjury committed 'in the ſame Court.

2. 'That inſtead of the Six Clerks, Chief Re-'giſter, and Two Examiners, ſo many godly, able, 'honeſt, and experienced Clerks may be admitted 'in their Rooms, as may be able, with their own 'Hands, to write and do the Buſineſs of the Court; 'and which may be working Attornies and Clerks,

'and

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'and not overſeeing Officers; that is to ſay, Six 'Clerks in the Regiſters Office, Eight Clerks in 'the Examiners Office, and Sixty Attornies or 'Clerks for doing the Buſineſs now done in the 'Six-Clerks Office; and that all theſe Clerks may 'receive a Moiety of the Fees now taken, and no 'more, ſave only the 3*s.* 4*d.* for the Attornies 'termly Fee, which may continue as formerly.

3. 'That the Sixty Attornies do elect two of 'the moſt able and experienced Men in the Buſineſs 'of the Court, and to be approved of by the Com-'miſſioners for the Great Seal, to be Chief Clerks, 'to attend daily in Court, to ſatisfy the Court in any 'Thing touching the Practice of the Court, and 'to do ſuch other Services as the Court ſhall di-'rect; as alſo to look to the due Ordering and Fi-'ling of the Records, and to receive for their Pains 'a termly Allowance from the Practiſing Clerks, 'not exceeding 200*l.* *per Annum* a-piece; and not 'to receive any Fees from Clients, for, if ſo, then 'the ſame Miſchief will follow as formerly hath 'done.

4. 'That a certain Number of godly and able 'Men be appointed, inſtead of Maſters of the Court, 'to take Oaths, and to hear and determine Mat-'ters of Account, and ſuch other Things as the 'Court ſhall refer unto them; who ſhall ſit, exa-'mine, and certify the ſame in Order as they are 'brought before them, and ſhall have a conſtant 'Regiſter to attend them; and no Report to be 'made, but by two of them at leaſt.

5. 'That the Attornies of the Court be not 'only permitted, but injoined to make Motions 'for their Clients for any Thing concerning the 'Practice and Courſe of the Court, as is now uſed 'in other Courts of Juſtice, (as hath been formerly 'uſed in the Chancery) for which they are to re-'ceive no Fee, but content themſelves with their 'termly Fee of 3*s.* 4*d.* and the Court to appoint 'convenient Times for hearing ſuch Motions.

6. 'That a certain Number of able and godly 'Men be appointed to peruſe and allow of all Bills

'be-

'before they be filed; for which they ſhall receive 'for every Bill , for preventing of many 'vexatious Suits, and Suits altogether improper for 'the Juriſdiction of the Court; and that no Attor- 'ney make out any Summons untill the Bill be ſo 'peruſed, allowed of, and filed. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

7. 'That upon every Hearing of a Cauſe, or 'other Order touching the Merits of a Cauſe, after 'the Court hath pronounced their Order, the Re- 'giſter to read the ſame with an audible Voice, 'not only the Subſtance but the very Words of the 'Order, for avoiding all Miſtakes in drawing 'of Orders.

'Theſe are humbly conceived to be fit Propo- 'ſals in relation to the Conſtitution of a Court 'of Equity, whereby to bring it to its original 'Purity.

'As to the Practical Part of the Court: It is 'conceived requiſite that Rules of fit Practice 'ſhould be framed by the Attornies of the Court, 'ſo to be allowed of as aforeſaid, and the ſame 'preſented to the Chief Clerk; and they to peruſe 'and amend the ſame, and then preſent them to 'the Keepers of the Great Seal for their Appro- 'bation thereof; whereby all vexatious Plaintiffs 'and wilful Contemners may receive condign Pu- 'niſhment by Payment of Coſts, as alſo by Fines, 'Sequeſtrations, and otherwiſe, according to their 'Demerits; and whereby all needleſs Formalities 'and Delays in the proceeding of Cauſes may be 'taken away, and all expeditious Ways and Means 'uſed for the expediting of Cauſes, and the Eaſe 'of Clients: And it is not to be doubted but ſuch 'Rules of Practice may be framed, as that no 'Cauſe ſhall depend above a Year (but generally 'not ſo long) before it be ready for hearing; and 'the whole Charge of the Proceedings not to ex- 'ceed ordinarily above 40 or 50*s*.

'But the particular Rules of Practice are not 'herein expreſſed, for that it is conceiv'd impoſſible 'to preſcribe and limit all Rules of Practice by Act 'of Parliament, but the ſame will be very prejudicial

'to

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'to the People: For if the Rules of Practice ſhould 'be enacted, then cannot the Judges of the Court 'diſpenſe with the Letter of the ſame Rule, tho' 'it be in a Caſe of Sickneſs, Death, or other like 'Caſes of the greateſt Extremity.

'Yet as to the Judicial Part of the Court, it 'were to be wiſh'd that a certain Time was limit-'ed for Mortgagers to redeem their Lands; and if 'likewiſe ſome Limitation of Time was put to 'other Suits, whereby Things might be brought 'to as great a Certainty as could be poſſible.

'It is conceived very fit likewiſe that a Table of 'Fees ſhould be allowed of by the Commiſſioners 'or Keepers of the Great Seal, and afterwards 'confirmed by Act of Parliament, and a Penalty 'impoſed upon every Man that ſhall exceed them.'

But all theſe Schemes for Reformation of the Law proved ineffectual, the Reaſon of which will appear hereafter.

The Parliament reward the Officers concern'd in the late Engagement with the *Dutch*.

Aug. 8. A Report was made to the Houſe from the Council of State, That it was their Opinion two Gold Chains, of 300*l.* Value each, ſhould be made and given to the Admirals *Moncke* and *Blake*, as a Mark of Favour from the Parliament, and a Token of the good Acceptance of their eminent Services againſt the *Dutch*; two more Chains of 100*l.* Value to Vice-Admiral *Penn* and Rear-Admiral *Lawſon*; and the four Flag-Officers to have each a Chain of 40*l.* Value: Alſo 1040*l.* in Medals, to be given amongſt the other Officers of the Fleet, as a Mark of the Parliament's Favour to them for their ſeveral Services. All which Particulars were confirmed by the Houſe.

A Day was alſo appointed for giving Thanks to Almighty God, for his Mercy in the late Succeſſes vouchſafed to the Navy of this Commonwealth againſt the *Dutch*. And a *Declaration* was ordered to be ſet forth, to invite the People of God in this Nation to join in the Obſervation thereof; which was *in hæc Verba*:

'IT

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'IT having pleaſed the Lord, after thoſe many 'ſignal Tokens of his Preſence with his People 'in this Nation, in the ſeveral Straits and Changes 'through which he hath, by a mighty Hand and 'out-ſtretched Arm, led them hitherto, yet again 'to manifeſt his wonted Power and Goodneſs to 'them in that late and great Succeſs of our Fleet 'at Sea; when it pleaſed the Lord, at the End of 'July laſt, ſo to bleſs the Forces of this Common-'wealth engaged by the *Dutch*, (who, by Advan-'tages not a few, to human Appearance, were 'likely to have prevailed) as that, after a moſt ſharp 'and doubtful Encounter, he crowned us with 'Victory, and made our Enemies to feel the Stroke 'of his righteous Hand againſt them; who have 'abundantly manifeſted it to be in their Intentions 'to have made us (wearied by a long inteſtine War) 'a Spoil to their Avarice and Ambition, by their 'firſt unjuſt Invaſion of us, and their earneſt pro-'ſecuting ſince of a War againſt us, notwithſtand-'ing all the Endeavours uſed on our Part to com-'poſe ſo ſad, and to us ſo unwelcome, a Breach 'between the two Nations: We being deſirous 'to be deeply ſenſible hereof before the Lord; and 'bearing alſo in Mind what Cauſe we have, at all 'Times, to make Mention of his Name in this 'Nation with all humble and thankful Acknow-'ledgements, but eſpecially when he hath thus 'ſeaſonably made bare his Holy Arm in this late 'Mercy, before the Eyes of all the Nations round 'about us, have thought it requiſite at a particular 'Time, and in an eſpecial Manner, to acknow-'ledge the Hand and Goodneſs of our God to us 'in this great Work which he hath wrought for 'us; and we have therefore ſet a-part *Thurſday* 'the 25th of this preſent *Auguſt*, for the End a-'foreſaid. And in regard the Mercy is general, 'and we hope will be of great Advantage to this 'whole Commonwealth, and to all that fear God 'in it, we do earneſtly deſire them to contribute 'their Help in this great Work of Thankfulneſs 'to the Lord, and to ſuffer us to call upon them,

A Declaration for a public Thankſgiving on that Occaſion.

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'to ſing, together with us, unto the Lord a new 'Song, *He hath dealt bountifully with us, for his 'Mercy endureth for ever:* And that, as the Lord 'ſhall move and direct them, they would ſeriouſly 'ſet themſelves in his Preſence, and praiſe him to-'gether with us; ſo that we may all, with one 'Heart and Voice, offer up a free Sacrifice of 'Prayer and of Praiſe, and all of us endeavour, 'in our ſeveral Stations, to improve ſo great a De-'liverance to the alone Glory of our great God, 'and the Good of his People throughout the 'World.'

Deſigns on foot in Favour of the King.

The Council of State had been alarmed with daily Intelligence of many Deſigns on foot in behalf of *Charles Stuart*; and that ſeveral conſiderable Perſons were concerned therein, ſome of whom were ordered to be apprehended. A Report of this being made to the Houſe on the 10th of this Month, they ordered an Act to be brought in for erecting another High Court of Juſtice, for Trial of Offenders againſt the Commonwealth.

This Day alſo the Council of State ſent to the Houſe a Paper, called *A Breviate of the Propoſals made to them by the Commiſſioners from* Scotland; which was read as follows:

Propoſals made to the Houſe, by Commiſſioners from *Scotland.*

1. 'That the Ceſs upon *Scotland*, which now 'exceeds the fourth Part of the Rent, may be 'abated, and brought to a conſtant and competent 'Proportion with *England.*

2. 'That Commiſſions for Courts of Juſtice 'might be iſſued to Men of Conſcience, and Abi-'lities to judge according to the Law and Practice 'of that Nation; and that the Judicatories might 'be of that ſame Number as formerly, to be no-'minated by Advice and Conſent of the Nation, 'conformably to Acts of Parliament.

3. 'That Sequeſtrations and Confiſcations 'might be taken off; and that the Intereſt of *Scotſ-'men* in *England* and *Ireland* might be preſerved, 'as was intended by the Bill of Oblivion: And

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'that Courſe might be taken for the Creditors and 'Cautioners of ſequeſtrated Perſons, who other-'wiſe will preſently be ruined inevitably. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

4. 'That thoſe who had formerly Rights from 'Kings may be continued in their Poſſeſſions till 'their Right be diſcuſſed before the Judge Ordi-'nary: And that Courſe may be taken for Pay-'ment of Debts contracted by the King before 'theſe late Troubles.

5. 'That thoſe who had obtained Conveyances 'and Poſſeſſion from Perſons who thereafter fell 'into Delinquency, may enjoy their Rights.

6. 'That Priſoners be releaſed.

7. 'That the Mint in *Scotland* may be ſet 'up, as the only preſent Remedy againſt the ex-'treme Scarcity of Money there.

8. 'That thoſe who are engaged for Money 'expended upon the Public Account of the Na-'tion, or have paid the ſame, may be relieved and 'indemnified.

9. 'That Cuſtoms and Impoſitions between '*England* and *Scotland* may be taken off all Goods 'imported and exported betwixt the Nations.

'It was alſo humbly deſired that ſome effective 'Courſe might be taken for Payment of the ſaid 'Commiſſioners Salaries.'

After reading theſe Propoſals, the Houſe referr'd it to the Council of State to take Care for the Payment of the Salaries of the Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, in order to their Diſmiſſion. And the Debate on the reſt of theſe Propoſals was deferr'd to the 12th Inſtant, but we hear no more of them; ſo that it is probable the *Scots* Commiſſioners were ſent away without any further Satisfaction given them in their Demands. Complaint made to the Houſe of the Extortions and Oppreſſions of Goalers, &c.

Aug. 17. Mr. *Anlaby* reported, from the Committee for Priſons and Priſoners, a Charge againſt Sir *John Lenthall*, Marſhal and Keeper of the Upper-Bench Priſon, for ſundry Neglects and Abuſes of his Office; alſo for Extortion, Oppreſ-

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ſion, and barbarous Uſage of his Priſoners, even to the murdering, ſtarving, and poiſoning ſome of them. It was likewiſe alledged againſt him, That he had held a ſecret Intelligence and Correſpondence with the late King at *Oxford*, and ſent him Men, Money, Horſes, and Arms. All theſe Offences were referred back to the ſame Committee, who were authoriz'd to hear what Defence Sir *John Lenthall* had to make.

Several public-ſpirited Propoſals were alſo reported to the Houſe, for redreſſing of Abuſes in all the Priſons throughout the Kingdom; for diſcharging ſuch Priſoners as were unable to pay; and compelling ſuch as were able, but choſe to live upon their Eſtates in Confinement, in order to defraud their Creditors. All which are particulariz'd in the *Journals*.

The next Day this Charge againſt Sir *John Lenthall* was followed by a Petition preſented to the Houſe, *in hæc Verba:*

To the PARLIAMENT *of the* COMMONWEALTH *of* ENGLAND,

The HUMBLE PETITION *of all the* PRISONERS *for* DEBT *within the ſeveral (both National and Private) tyrannical Dens of Cruelty, called Priſons, Goals, Counters, Holes, and Dungeons in this Land,*

Humbly ſheweth,

And a Petition from Inſolvent Debtors.

'THAT this Nation hath, for theſe many Years, expected to reap the deſired Fruits 'of their Labours, and the late Parliament's Pro-'miſes, *viz.* their juſt Liberties: But the chiefeſt 'Study of the ſaid ſelf-ſeeking Parliament hath 'been how, by fair Speeches, to lull this Nation 'aſleep in the Cradle of Security, and to impower 'themſelves to Perpetuity; but the Lord hath turn-'ed this their worldly Policy into Folly, Shame, 'and Confuſion to themſelves; (whoſe Memo-

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'morial will ſo remain to Poſterity) by ſtirring up 'the Hearts of his Excellency and thoſe noble 'Worthies, that thus ſuddenly and peaceably diſ- 'armed them; and, in their Chriſtian Zeal to 'this their Country's Welfare, have choſen and 'called you, as the Lord's faithful ones, to the 'ſame Place, but for the better Work, even the 'Work of Righteouſneſs, in Judgment, Juſtice, 'and Mercy, (without Reſpect of Perſons) and 'for the Reſtoration of our Fundamental Laws, 'Rights, and Liberties. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

'In Aſſurance of your ſpeedy Accompliſhment of 'this ſo great good Work, to God's Glory, your 'Country's Happineſs, and your own eternal Fame 'to Poſterity, we are encouraged to ſhew, though 'not unknown unto you, that the Law of God 'is a Law of Mercy, Peace, and Preſervation to 'the People, and not of Strife, Rigor, and De- 'ſtruction, as it is at this preſent Time, in and by 'the chargeable, dilatory, and deceitful Practice 'thereof; witneſs the numerous Actions charged 'on Men; vexatious and chargeable Arreſts, and 'dragging of Men and Women like Dogs into 'Holes and Dungeons; falſe and endleſs Impriſon- 'ment; the frequent Commitments to Priſon, by 'the Judges and Juſtices, upon trivial Matters; un- 'juſt Decrees; falſe Reports of Maſters in Chan- 'cery; illegal Outlawries; Delay of Juſtice; and, 'by the extraordinary Charges in Law and Pro- 'traction of Time, diſhearten honeſt Men from 'ſuing for their juſt Debts and Rights; together 'alſo with the moſt cruel Uſage and unreaſonable 'Exactions of Bailiffs, Serjeants, and Goalers, 'to the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of thouſands 'of Families in the Land; ſo as now, by the dia- 'bolically invented Practices of the Judges and 'Lawyers, the Law is become ſharper than a two- 'edged Sword, dividing the Life from the Body; 'working an endleſs Separation between a Man 'and his Wife, Children, and Friends; Depriva- 'tion of Liberty and Calling, and a total Ruin of 'Eſtate, to the great Prejudice of this Common-

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'wealth in general; but to the Satisfaction of 'cruel revengeful Perſons, and Inrichment of 'Lawyers and their Dependents in particular.

'That all private Priſons are more noiſome and 'chargeable than many national Priſons are; wit-'neſs the Lord *Cleveland*'s Priſon, within his Roy-'alty in *White-Chapel*, where the Steward and 'Bailiff are Accuſers, Judges, and Executioners, 'by their illegal Royal Warrants daily iſſued forth, 'for arreſting, impriſoning, and condemning of 'poor Men and Women, in their illegal Courts 'kept every three Weeks there:

'That notwithſtanding the Head of Royalty is 'cut off, yet theſe Branches of Tyranny are ſtill 'ſuffered to grow and bear the poiſonous Fruit of 'Deſtruction, contrary to the Freedom and Deli-'verance promiſed:

'That Reſtraint of Men and Women's Perſons 'in Goal pays no Debts; but defrauds the Credi-'tor, feeds the Lawyers and Goalers, and mur-'ders the Debtors; witneſs the many Thouſands 'that have thus periſhed miſerably, as the Goal-'ers Books, Coroners Records, and Committory 'Rolls do teſtify:

'That Impriſonment for Debt is contrary to the 'Law of God, to Reaſon, Juſtice, and Charity, 'and to the Law of this Land, as appeareth by ſe-'veral Statutes.

'The Premiſes piouſly conſidered, your poor, 'ſtill enſlaved, Brethren therefore humbly pray,

'That you may ſpeedily break off this cruel 'ſinful Yoke, by the powerful Rule of Righteouſ-'neſs, Juſtice, and Mercy: That there may be 'no more Arreſting nor Impriſonment for Debt; 'but that, according to the antient laudable Way 'of Citations, all able Debtors may be, in ſome 'ſhort Time, enforced to ſatisfy their Creditors 'out of the two Third Parts of their Eſtates, either 'in Lands or Goods, the other Third Part to be re-'ſerved to themſelves for their Support and Educa-'tion of their Children: And, laſtly, that you 'would be pleaſed to ſtand up in the Strength of

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'the Lord, like zealous *Nehemiah*, for the Regain- Inter-regnum, 1653.
'ment of this Nation's Liberty, by aboliſhing the
'*Capias*, demoliſhing all Dens of Cruelty, and
'ſetting all us, the Enſlaved, free: Auguſt.

'That ſo not only we, our Wives, Children,
'and Friends, but this whole Nation, may have
'juſt Cauſe to bleſs God for you, and to eternize
'your Names to Poſterity, as of their faithful De-
'liverers from this *Egyptian* Thraldom and Mi-
'ſery; for the ſpeedy Accompliſhment whereof,
'your Petitioners and this whole Nation do daily
'pray, *&c.*'

In conſequence of all this the Houſe ordered a Bill to be brought in, for the Relief of Creditors and Poor Priſoners. A Bill ordered in thereupon.

Aug. 19. This Day the Parliament took into Conſideration the State of the Laws of this Nation in general; and reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to conſider of a new Body of the Law.

Aug. 22. A Call of the Houſe was made with great Strictneſs; the Abſenters were mark'd with an *A*, thoſe preſent with a *P*. Such Members who were abſent, without Leave, were ordered to attend the Service of the Houſe on that Day Fortnight, and give an Account of their Abſence. A Call of the Houſe.

About the Middle of this Month Col. *John Lilburne* was brought to a ſecond Trial at Law; and, after a long Hearing, was acquitted by his Jury, but ordered back to *Newgate*. Upon his Acquittal Medals were ſtruck, with his Head on one Side, and the Names of all his Jury on the Reverſe, which are yet to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the Curious. But the Parliament was ſo provoked at *Lilburne*'s Acquittal, that they ordered the Council of State to examine the whole Buſineſs of the Trial; particularly the Judges and Jury upon it. Likewiſe to examine touching any ſcandalous, ſeditious, or tumultuous Papers which were diſpers'd, Their ſevere Proceedings againſt Col. *Lilburne*.

Inter-regnum. 1653. August. or Words ſpoken, at the ſaid Trial, in relation to, and in Derogation of, the Authority of Parliament, and report the ſame to the Houſe.—It was alſo referred to the ſaid Council to reviſe the Acts declaring what Offences ſhall be Treaſon; and to bring in an Act for Supply of ſuch Things as the other comes ſhort of, in reference to this preſent Parliament and Council of State. According to this Order, a few Days after, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* reported from the Council of State, that they had examined into the Proceedings on the late Trial of Col. *Lilburne*; and that the Clerks attending there had returned ſeveral ſcandalous and ſeditious Speeches, ſpoken by the ſaid *Lilburne* at his Trial, which they took in Short Hand, an Extract of which was read; whereupon the Houſe committed *Lilburne* to the *Tower*; and the Lieutenant was injoined to detain him there, notwithſtanding any *Habeas Corpus* to be granted by the Upper Bench, or any other Court of Juſtice, till the Parliament ſhould give farther Order.—So great a Dread had they of this Man's Popularity, who, from his invincible Zeal in oppoſing the Arbitrary Proceedings of Men in Power, under every Change of Government, was at this Time diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Freeborn John*.

Great Part of this Month had been taken up in canvaſſing a Bill concerning Marriages, and the regiſtering thereof, and alſo of Births and Burials: On the 25th it paſſed the Houſe on the Queſtion, and was order'd to be printed and publiſhed.

This extraordinary Act, which entirely took Marriages out of the Hands of the Clergy, and put it into thoſe of the Juſtices of Peace, well deſerves our Notice; we ſhall therefore give an Abſtract of the moſt material Clauſes thereof.

An Act paſs'd relating to Marriages. Hereby it was enacted, 'That all Perſons in *England* or *Ireland*, intending to be married, ſhould, twenty-one Days at leaſt before, deliver in Writing to the Regiſter appointed by this Act for the Pa-

Pariſh where each Party to be married live, with their Names, Surnames, Additions, and Places of Abode, and of their Parents, Guardians, or Overſeers; all which the ſaid Regiſter ſhall publiſh three ſeveral Lord's Days then next following, at the Cloſe of the Morning Exerciſe, in the Church or Chapel; or, if the Parties to be married deſired it, in the Market-Place next adjoining thereto, on three Market-Days, in three ſeveral Weeks next following, between the Hours of Eleven and Two; which being done, the Regiſter ſhall, upon Requeſt of the Parties concerned, make a Certificate of the due Performance thereof, without which ſuch Marriage ſhall not proceed: And if any Exception be made thereto, the Regiſter ſhall inſert the ſame, with the Name of the Perſon making ſuch Exception, and their Place of Abode, in the Certificate of Publication. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

'All Perſons intending to be married, ſhall come before ſome Juſtice of Peace of the ſame County, City, or Town Corporate, where Publication hath been made, and bring a Certificate thereof, with Proof of the Conſent of their Parents or Guardians, if either of the Parties be under the Age of twenty-one Years: And the Juſtice ſhall examine, upon Oath, concerning the Truth of the Certificate, and due Performance of all the Premiſſes, and of any Exception ariſing; and, if there be no reaſonable Cauſe to the contrary, the Marriage ſhall proceed in this Manner:

'The Man, taking the Woman by the Hand, ſhall diſtinctly pronounce theſe Words, *I* A. B. *do here in the Preſence of God, the Searcher of all Hearts, take thee* C. D. *for my wedded Wife; and do alſo in the Preſence of God, and before theſe Witneſſes, promiſe to be unto thee a loving and faithful Huſband.*

'And then the Woman, taking the Man by the Hand, ſhall alſo diſtinctly pronounce theſe Words, *I* C. D. *do here in the Preſence of God, the Searcher of all Hearts, take thee* A. B. *for my wedded Huſband; and do alſo in the Preſence of God, and before*

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fore theſe Witneſſes, promiſe to be unto thee a loving, faithful, and obedient Wife.

'The Man and Woman having made ſufficient Proof of the Conſent of their Parents or Guardians, and expreſſed their Conſent to Marriage, in the Manner and Words aforeſaid, before ſuch Juſtice of Peace, in the Preſence of two or more credible Witneſſes, he ſhall declare them to be from thenceforth Huſband and Wife; and, after ſuch Conſent ſo expreſſed, and ſuch Declaration made, the ſame ſhall be good and effectual in Law; and no other Form of Marriage ſhall be accounted valid according to the Laws of *England*: But the Juſtice of Peace, in caſe of dumb Perſons, may diſpenſe with pronouncing the Words aforeſaid; and with joining Hands, in caſe of Perſons that have no Hands.

'A Book of Vellum or Parchment ſhall be provided for the regiſtering of all ſuch Marriages, and of all Births of Children, and Burials of all Sorts of People, within every Pariſh; for the ſafe keeping of which, the Inhabitants and Houſholders chargeable to the Poor, ſhall make Choice of ſome able and honeſt Perſon, to be approved by one Juſtice of the Peace of the County, and ſo ſignified under his Hand in the ſaid Regiſter-Book, to have the Keeping thereof, who ſhall therein enter all ſuch Publications, Marriages, Births of Children, and Burials of all Sorts of Perſons, and the Names of every of them, and the Days of the Month and Year thereof, and the Parents, Guardians, or Overſeers Names: And for ſuch Publications and Certificate, the Regiſter ſhall be paid 1 *s.* alſo 1 *s.* for the Entry of every Marriage; for every Birth of a Child 4 *d.* and for every Death 4 *d.* But for Publications, Marriages, Births, or Burials of poor People, who live upon Alms, nothing ſhall be taken. And the Juſtice of Peace, if deſired, ſhall give a Certificate on Parchment, under his Hand and Seal, of ſuch Marriage, and of the Day of the Solemnization thereof, and of two or more of the Witneſſes then preſent, for which his Clerk

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to receive 1 s. And if ſuch Certificate ſhall be produced to the Clerk of the Peace for that County, and Requeſt made to him to make an Entry thereof, he ſhall enter the ſame in a Book of Parchment to be provided for that Purpoſe, and kept amongſt the Records of the ſaid Seſſions, for which he may receive 4 d. Inter-regnum. 1653. Auguſt.

'If any Perſon ſhall, by Violence or Fraud, ſteal or take away any one, under the Age of 21 Years, or cauſe ſo to be done, with Intent of Marriage, he ſhall forfeit his whole Eſtate, Real and Perſonal; one Half to the Commonwealth, and the other to the Party ſo taken away; and farther ſuffer cloſe Impriſonment, and be kept to hard Labour in ſome Houſe of Correction during Life: And every Perſon convicted of aiding or abetting any ſuch Violence or Fraud, ſhall be impriſoned and kept to hard Labour for the Space of ſeven Years: And any pretended Marriage obtained by ſuch Violence and Fraud, ſhall be null and void.

'Where any Guardian ſhall betray his Truſt touching any Child, by ſeducing, ſelling, or otherwiſe wilfully putting ſuch Child into the Hands or Power of any Perſon to marry ſuch Child without his or her free Conſent, ſuch Guardian ſhall forfeit double the Value of ſuch Child's Portion, one Moiety thereof to the Commonwealth, and the other to the Child ſo married.

'The Age for a Man to conſent unto Marriage ſhall be 16 Years, and the Age of a Woman, 14.

'Controverſies touching Contracts and Marriages to be determined at the General Quarter Seſſions of the Peace.'

We ſhall take our Leave of this Act with the Mention of a very remarkable Clauſe, which was propoſed to be added, upon the Third Reading, but paſs'd in the Negative. It was this:

'That if any Perſon then married, or to be married according to this Act, ſhould make Proof, by one or more credible Witneſs upon Oath, that either the Huſband or Wife had committed the deteſtable

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testable Sin of Adultery during such Marriage, then the said Parties might be divorced by the Sentence of three Justices of the Peace.'

September. We have before given a Petition from the County of *Kent*, against the Continuance of Tythes. In our *Collections* we have Abundance of Addresses to the House, *pro* and *con*, upon this Subject: But as one of each may be a sufficient Specimen of the whole, we shall begin the Proceedings of this Month with a Petition from the City of *London* in favour of the Clergy, which was ushered in after the following Manner:

The City of *London* present a Petition in favour of the Clergy's Right of Maintenance.

The House being informed that there were divers Aldermen and Citizens of *London* at the Door with a Petition, they were called in; and, being come to the Bar, Mr. Sheriff *Eastwick* address'd himself in these Words:

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen, and the Commons, in Common-Council assembled, have commanded these worthy Gentlemen and myself to wait upon you in a Business, I think, of as great Concernment as we can possibly propound, in relation to your own Honour, the Good of the City, and the whole Nation.

'We are very sensible, Sir, what a great Mercy of God it hath been to *England*, that the great Trustees of this Nation have been still ready to promote and advance the Gospel for an hundred Years together; and he hath always provided for us pious and learned Men to dispense it, and to defend it against our common Enemies, and blessed their Labours to the Conversion of so many Thousands; which hath made this Nation more eminent than all the Nations round about us.

'Other Nations abroad, they have Civil Laws and Liberties to preserve their Properties: God hath blessed us in a more peculiar Manner than he hath done any others. It was in the Heart of the last Parliament, and we see it in yours, to make it your

your chief Work to promote Religion in this Nation: We come here upon no other Errand, and ſhall not meddle with the Particulars of the Petition; but only one Thing we are very ſenſible of, except the Honour of the Parliament be preſerved, we think you will be ſcarce able to do the great Things before you; and if any People in the Nation ſhall be ſuffered, at their Pleaſure, to reflect upon the Supreme Power, we think very ill Fruits muſt follow upon it: We beſeech you therefore to conſider of your own Honour, to preſerve it; and we hope God will ſtand by you to make good thoſe glorious Things which you have declared for the Good of this Nation: And ſo, Mr Speaker, I here preſent the Petition to you, according to the Order and Directions we have received.

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To the Supreme Authority of the Nation, the PARLIAMENT *of the* COMMONWEALTH *of* England,

The HUMBLE PETITION *of the* LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, *and* COMMONS *of the City of* London, *in Common Council aſſembled*,

Sheweth,

'THAT your Petitioners do, in all Humility and Thankfulneſs, acknowledge the infinite Goodneſs of God to this Nation, in the free Paſſage of the Goſpel for near one hundred Years together, and the Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity that it hath brought with it; and that all along God hath raiſed up pious, learned, and painful Preachers of the Goſpel, whoſe Labours God hath bleſſed in the converting of Thouſands, and defending of the Truth againſt Popery, Errors, and Hereſies, although very much oppoſed and perſecuted by a Popiſh and Prelatical Party.

'Your Petitioners do likewiſe acknowledge, among many worthy Things done by the late Parliament, the tender Care they had of all able, faithful, godly Miniſters, in ſetting them at Liberty from their former Perſecutors, and giving them all Encouragement in the Exerciſe of their

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'Miniſtry, and by adding towards their Maintenance a conſiderable Revenue over and above 'what was antiently ſettled by Law. They alſo 'encouraged Learning, by reforming the Univer'ſities, and increaſing the Maintenance of the Go'vernors of Colleges, where there was need. And 'what a Mercy is it like to prove to the Nation, 'there being ſo many hopeful Plants that in a ſhort 'Time, by the Bleſſing of God, may be fit for 'public Service! And while they were thus pro'moting the Intereſt of *Chriſt*, how did the Lord 'bleſs their Councils and Forces by Land and by 'Sea, to the Admiration of their Friends and Ene'mies, both at Home and Abroad!

'But as heretofore there never wanted Inſtru'ments to vilify, oppoſe, perſecute, or undermine 'the faithful Miniſters, and preaching of the Goſ'pel; ſo of late Years, yea at this Day, what Scorn 'and Contempt is caſt upon them, and what En'deavours are uſed by petitioning, and other Ways, 'to deſtroy the Univerſities, and undermine the 'Preaching of the Goſpel, by taking away that 'antient ſettled Maintenance, which hath been 'own'd and acknowledg'd as their Due, by all Par'liaments and Courts of Juſtice, Time out of Mind? 'And if the *Jeſuits*, and thoſe that are Popiſhly af'fected, (of which we have Cauſe to fear there are 'many in this Nation) ſucceed in their preſent Coun'cils and Practices, in diſaffecting the Nation to the 'Univerſities and Learning, and the profitable Uſe of 'it in the Preaching of the Goſpel and confuting of 'Hereſies; and likewiſe ſhall prevail in removing 'the preſent ſettled Maintenance, which is earneſtly 'endeavoured by them; and perſuade that the Ci'vil Magiſtrate hath nothing to do in Matters of 'Religion, they will then be in a very great For'wardneſs to attain that Deſign they have had a'gainſt this Nation, ever ſince the firſt Reforma'tion from Popery.

'Now though the Conſideration of all theſe 'Things lies ſad on our Hearts, we cannot but, 'with Thankfulneſs, acknowledge, That there is 'a Su-

'a Supreme Power over us, to whom we have En- Inter-regnum.
'couragement to make our humble Addreſs; who 1653.
'have been pleaſed ſo publickly and affectionately September.
'to declare, that you will be as tender of the Lives,
'Eſtates, Liberties, juſt Rights and Properties of
'all others, as you will be of your own and of
'your Poſterities. And further, That you can-
'not but acknowledge that ye are not yet at Reſt,
'nor can believe ye have yet enjoyed or ſeen enough
'to accompliſh the End of God, or ſatisfy the
'Thoughts of Men, for that vaſt Expence of Blood
'and Treaſure, which could not have been endu-
'red with any Patience, but in Hope that at length
'thoſe bitter Pangs and Throws will make ſome
'Way for that long-expected Birth of Peace,
'Freedom, and Happineſs, both to the Souls and
'Bodies of the Lord's People. And while we are
'patiently waiting for the Fruits of ſuch pious Re-
'ſolutions, it cannot but be much Grief of Heart
'and Regret of Spirit to your Petitioners, to have
'this Parliament unworthily traduced and reflected
'upon by ſome Perſons, which we humbly con-
'ceive doth directly tend to the gratifying of the
'common Enemy, the raiſing of Sedition, diſturb-
'ing of the preſent Government, and Deſtruction
'of this Commonwealth. The Premiſes conſi-
'dered, your Petitioners do humbly pray,

'That Care be taken that the precious Truths
'of the Goſpel, which hath been the bleſſed Por-
'tion of this Nation ſo many Years, may be pre-
'ſerved in their Purity; that the faithful Diſpen-
'ſers thereof, being learned, godly, and void of
'Offence, may receive all due Encouragement;
'and that ſuch (being ſo approved) may be ſent
'forth to preach the Goſpel; that the ſettled Main-
'tenance by the Laws of the Land for them, may
'be further confirmed; and that the Acts and Or-
'dinances of Parliament, formerly made to this
'Purpoſe, may be put into Execution, and ſuch
'other Proviſion made, that their juſt Properties
'may be preſerved; that the Univerſities alſo, that
'are the Seminaries of all Sorts of Literature, ſo

'emi-

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'eminently uſeful for this Commonwealth, both 'in reſpect of Civil Government, and alſo the 'propagating and defending the bleſſed Truths of 'the Goſpel, may be zealouſly countenanced and 'encouraged: All which we humbly ſubmit to 'your grave and pious Conſideration,

And ſhall ever pray, &c.

The foregoing Petition being read, the Houſe ordered the Speaker to return their Thanks to the Petitioners for their good Affections; to acquaint them that ſome of the Matters thereof were under Conſideration; and as to what concerned the traducing of the Parliament, to refer them to give Information thereof to the Council of State, the Houſe not doubting the Continuance of their Care for the Peace and Safety of the City.

The Charge of ſuſtaining the *Dutch* War was very great, and though crowned with all the Advantages above recited, it could not be ſupported by the Tax of 120,000*l.* a-month, which ſtill laid upon the Public, nor with the Addition of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe then alſo in being. For,

The Charge of ſupporting the Navy for ſix Months.

Sept. 5. A Report was made to the Houſe, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, That there was requiſite to be provided for the Uſe of the Navy, from the 15th of *July* laſt to the 31ſt of *December* next, excluſive of ten Frigates intended to be built, and the Charges of the Winter Service, the Sum of 1,115,000*l.*

Towards which there had been paid in ——				63,570	9	2
That there was then reſting in the Exciſe	100,000	0	0			
In the Cuſtoms ——	130,000	0	0	542,924	19	9
By *Dutch* Prizes ——	100,000	0	0			
By Aſſeſſments ——	200,000	0	0			
By Collectors Prizes	12,924	19	9			
So that there was wanting to be provided by the 31ſt of *December*				508,504	11	1
				1,115,000	0	0

In

In order to anſwer theſe mighty Demands, the Parliament fell again upon Delinquents and Recuſants, and ordered in a Bill for a further Explanation of the Act for the Sale of their Eſtates; by which two Parts in three were ordered to be ſold immediately. Amongſt theſe there is a Caſe relating to the famous Counteſs of *Derby*, ſomewhat remarkable; for there were two Diviſions of the Houſe on it. When the Queſtion was put, Whether the ſaid Counteſs ſhould be admitted to compound, it was agreed to by only 38 againſt 36. Then the Queſtion, That the Compoſition ſhall be at two Sixths, being put, the Houſe divided again, 33 againſt 33; when the Speaker gave for the Negative. So it was reſolved, That the Compoſition ſhould be at five Years for Fee-Simple, four for Entails, and three Years for Life, as the Eſtate was worth in the Year 1640; and that ſhe be admitted to compound for her Perſonal Eſtate, according to that Rule, at one Third. We give this as a Specimen of what other Royaliſts ſuffered in theſe Times. The remaining Palaces, Caſtles, Parks, and other Eſtates, belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince, which had been hitherto exempted, were alſo ordered to be ſold to the beſt Bidder: Only *Hampton-Court* was reſerved to be exchanged with the Lord-General for *Newhall*, an Eſtate in *Eſſex*, formerly belonging to the Duke of *Buckingham*, he paying the Difference in Proportion.——On the 20th of this Month Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had been ordered by the Houſe to make an Offer to *Cromwell* of this Exchange; and the Truſtees for the Sale of the Royal Palaces were enjoined to forbear making any Contract about *Hampton-Court* for two Days. On the 26th Sir *Anthony* reported, That having acquainted the Lord-General with this Offer of the Houſe, he return'd his Acknowledgment of their great Reſpects towards him therein; but deſired they would proceed to diſpoſe of *Hampton-Court*, according to the Act for that Purpoſe. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming Refuſal, the Houſe reſolved to

Inter-regnum. 1653. September.

Reſolutions as to the Sale of Delinquents Eſtates.

Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

to ſtop the Sale thereof till they ſhould give farther Order; and in the mean Time *Cromwell* thought proper to accept of the propoſed Exchange.

October 1. The laſt great Victory over the *Dutch* at Sea, had ſo damp'd their Spirits, or their Finances were ſo exhauſted, that they could not fit out another Fleet to carry on the War.

Mr. *Ludlow* writes [m], 'That, ſince the Beginning thereof, the *Engliſh* had taken, ſunk, and deſtroyed, between 14 and 1500 of their Ships, of which many were large Men of War. This great Loſs, in Men and Ships, reduced the *Hollanders* to the loweſt Ebb; and their Envoy here told the Council, That he would engage his Maſters ſhould ſend them a Blank, and that what Conditions of Peace they pleaſed to write on it, the other would ſubſcribe.' A Treaty, upon this, being begun, the *Engliſh* Admirals, *Blake* and *Moncke*, gained a Receſs, came to *London*, and took their Seats in the Houſe: The Speaker, by Order, giving them both Thanks for their great and faithful Services to the Parliament and Commonwealth.

The Admirals *Blake* and *Moncke* receive the Thanks of the Houſe.

The Lord Mayor Elect of *London* preſented to the Parliament for their Approbation.

About the Beginning of this Month Alderman *Thomas Vyner*, Lord Mayor Elect of *London*, was preſented to the Houſe for their Approbation. Upon which Occaſion Mr. *Proby*, the Common Serjeant of that City, thus addreſſed himſelf to the Houſe:

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Aldermen of the City of *London* do make their Addreſſes unto the Parliament of *England* from that City, that antient City, the City of *London*; famous in the Times of *Julius Cæſar* for its Populacy, for the Concourſe and Traffic throughout the whole World, and eſpecially for the peaceable and quiet Government of ſo populous a Nation. It is called by that learned Profeſſor of the Common Law, Sir *Edward Coke*, *The*

[m] *Memoirs*, p. 469.

The Heart of the Commonwealth: And truly, I may safely say, it is the Metropolitan or chief City of this Nation, and a constant Lover of Parliaments. For albeit, by antient Charters confirmed by Parliaments, they are not to be drawn out without their own Consent; yet, both in antient Times and also modern Times, at the Desire of Parliament, they have not only ventured their Persons, but exhausted their Estates, and that most willingly. I need not go far backward to Stories to manifest this, modern Times will manifest it sufficiently; witness their Expeditions of late, that into *Kent*, others into the Western Parts, as of *Taunton-Dean*, and especially that of *Glouceſter*, and all with Success. And it may be the like Expeditions, in Times past, that made an antient Record term them, *Propugnaculum Reipublicæ*, A Bulwark of the Commonwealth. Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

'And, Sir, as they are an antient City, and famous in their Generation, so, by the Bounty and Goodness of former Parliaments, and the Justice of this present Parliament, they enjoy many notable Privileges: Amongst which, they enjoy this, that they have the Choice of their own Magistrates; which cannot but be accounted a singular Blessing or Benefit: For thereby they avoid the Curse denounced by the Prophet, of People not pleasing God, *To have Strangers to rule over them.*

'They enjoy a Blessing also and a Benefit; that they shall have of themselves those who know their Customs and Laws, which are many and dear unto them, and shall be governed according to the same.

'Sir, by two antient Charters, the first in the 6th Year of King *John*, and the other the 11th Year of *Henry* III. (both confirmed by Parliament) it is granted and confirmed unto the Citizens of *London*, *That they shall, from amongst themselves, choose out of themselves an Officer yearly.*

'Sir, it hath been a constant Use, Custom, and Ceremony, that the Person who hath been chosen to be Lord-Mayor, hath been, by the Aldermen,

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in their Purple Robes, preſented, from Time to Time, unto the Supreme Authority.

'It is reported, Sir, by ſome of the *Roman* Hiſtorians, that the *Romans*, in the Time of their Proſperity, were ſo curious in preſerving of their Rights, Cuſtoms, and Ceremonies, concerning the Election of their Magiſtrates, that they committed the recording of them unto their High-Prieſts: It may be adjudged by ſome that this was too ceremonious; but, Sir, if they conſider their Ends, there may be ſome Excuſe in it; for they conceived that the Neglect of thoſe Ceremonies which were performed upon the Election of their Magiſtrates, might, in Time to come, bring Magiſtrates and Magiſtracy into Contempt; for albeit Ceremonies add no Power to the Magiſtrate, yet they conceived it ſtrengthened his Hands, and created a Kind of Awe and Obedience in the Multitude.

'Whatſoever their Intention was, I know not; but our Errand and our Intention is, to preſent unto the Parliament that Man, which the Citizens of *London* have made Choice of to be Lord Mayor for the Year enſuing; to the Intent, as he hath the Suffrages of the People, ſo he may have the Stamp and Authority of this Court, and the Approbation of it.

'Sir, according unto the Cuſtom, and at the uſual Time, they have proceeded unto their Election: They have made Choice of this Gentleman, Mr. Alderman *Vyner*, to be Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, for the Year enſuing: A Man well known and eſteemed in this City of *London*, look'd upon to be a grave, wiſe, underſtanding Man, holy to God, and righteous to Man; a Man of a ſingular Judgment, yet notwithſtanding, in Matters of Difficulty, deſires to conſult with the Aldermen his Brethren, who are Coadjutors in Government in this City of *London*, though not in that high Degree that he is.

'Sir, he is looked upon as a Man faithful to the Parliament, diſcreet, and fit for Government; and

and the Aldermen of the City of *London*, in the Name of the City, do humbly preſent him to this Honourable Parliament for your Approbation, deſiring he may be ſworn after the uſual Manner.' Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

To this pompous Harangue, which was ſo agreeable to the Houſe, that it was publiſhed by their Authority *, the Speaker return'd the uſual Compliment of Approbation, and the Lord Mayor was ſworn into his Office.

In the Proceedings of *Auguſt* laſt we took Notice of a Charge of Oppreſſion and Cruelty being preferred againſt Sir *John Lenthall*, Keeper of the Priſon of the Upper Bench; alſo of a Petition preſented to the Houſe, in favour of the ſeveral Priſoners for Debt throughout the Nation; and that a Bill was, in conſequence thereof, ordered to be brought in for Relief of Creditors and poor Debtors. After ſeveral Alterations this Bill was, on the 5th of this Month, paſſed into a Law. We have obſerved before, That many Acts have been made by Uſurpers of the Legiſlative Power, which were worthy of better Times: And in this View we ſhall give an Abſtract of the moſt important Clauſes of that now before us.

'Seventeen Commiſſioners were appointed to act as Judges in the Caſe of Priſoners in the Upper-Bench Priſon, the Fleet, the Gatehouſe in *Weſtminſter*, the Counter in *Surry*, or Priſon in *Whitechapel*, with Power to examine, and determine in a ſummary Way, concerning the Cauſes of ſuch Perſons Impriſonment, their Eſcapes and their Eſtates, and to act as Commiſſioners of Bankrupts, who were to be allowed Two-pence in the Pound out of the Money ariſing by the Sale of ſuch Priſoners Eſtates, for the Charges of them and their Clerks. A certain Number of Perſons were alſo appointed to act in the ſame Capacity for each County in *England* and *Wales*, with an Allowance of Six-pence in the Pound. An Act for Relief of Creditors and poor Debtors.

* Printed by *John Field*, Printer to the Parliament of *England*.

Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

'Priſoners not paying their Debts in ſix Months to be deemed Bankrupts; and in Caſe of Settlement of any Part of a Priſoner's Eſtate in Truſt for himſelf or any other Perſon, after the Debt contracted or Judgment obtain'd, theſe Commiſſioners were impowered to ſell the Eſtate, and to fine any other Perſon aiding or aſſiſting in ſuch Fraud; and Perſons not able to pay ſuch Fine, were to be adjudged to the Pillory or Workhouſe.

'Priſoners able to pay their Debts, and refuſing ſo to do, were, if theſe Commiſſioners thought fit, to be ordered to cloſe Impriſonment: The Eſtates of any Perſon for whoſe Debts another ſhould be impriſoned, were to be ſold as fully as the Eſtate of the Priſoner himſelf; and where a Priſoner made an Eſcape, his Eſtate not being ſufficient to diſcharge his Debts, the Goaler and his Security were to make good the Deficiency: But in the Caſe of Priſoners, againſt whom there had not been any Declarations filed, theſe Commiſſioners were to diſcharge them, and to give them Damages for ſuch vexatious Impriſonment.

'In order to prevent Priſoners, unable to pay their Debts or Fines, from periſhing in Priſon, thro' the Cruelty or Obſtinacy of any obdurate Creditor, theſe Commiſſioners were impowered to diſcharge, abate, or give Reſpite of Time to any ſuch Priſoner, according as the Circumſtances of the Caſe might require; and to remove to the Workhouſe, or Houſe of Correction, any obſtinate Priſoner, who ſhould be found to lye in Priſon thro' his own wilful Default; or to have run into Debt by a vicious Courſe of Life. They were alſo authorized to examine into the Caſe of Perſons who had fraudulently got out of Goal by Means of former Acts for Relief of Inſolvent Debtors, and to recommit them. They were to inquire into the Abuſe of Charities given to Priſoners, and to puniſh the ſame; to make Orders for ſelling wholeſome Proviſions to the Priſoners at a reaſonable Price; and to cauſe a Table of moderate Fees to be hung up in every Priſon, and any

and the Aldermen of the City of *London*, in the Name of the City, do humbly preſent him to this Honourable Parliament for your Approbation, deſiring he may be ſworn after the uſual Manner.' Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

To this pompous Harangue, which was ſo agreeable to the Houſe, that it was publiſhed by their Authority °, the Speaker return'd the uſual Compliment of Approbation, and the Lord Mayor was ſworn into his Office.

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any Person taking more was to forfeit fourfold to the Party injured, and to be set on the Pillory: And in case of the Death of a Prisoner before his Debts were paid, they were impowered to sell his Estate for Payment thereof: And tho' Prisoners enlarg'd by this Act were not liable to be arrested for Debts due before, yet their Estates were to remain subject to their Creditors Satisfaction. Inter-regnum. 1653. October.

'Lastly, These Commissioners were not to be responsible for their Conduct but to Parliament; and in case of any Difficulty, wherein they might apprehend they had not sufficient Power for the Relief of just Creditors or poor Prisoners, they were to certify the same to the House, with their Opinion what further Provision was necessary to be made.'

The Court of Chancery being voted down, the Commissioners of the Great Seal wanted Employment: And Mr. *Whitlocke*, one of them, was ordered to go Ambassador into *Sweden*, the Lord Viscount *Lisle* having declined that Employment, and the Sum of 1050*l.* was allowed him to fit out an Equipage for that Purpose; but he did not receive his Commission and Instructions till the latter End of this Month, and soon after set out for *Gravesend*, with a grand Retinue, on his Embassy. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* sent Ambassador to *Sweden*.

Oct. 11. The Council of State made a Report to the House, of several seditious and scandalous Pamphlets coming out, tending to the Disturbance of the Commonwealth; and that they had employed divers Persons to find out the Authors, Printers, and Publishers thereof. One of these, intitled, *A Charge of High Treason against* Oliver Cromwell, *Esq; for several Treasons by him committed*, was read, and some Informations taken of the Printers, *&c.* But the House referred this Business back to the Council, to prepare and present to them what they thought fit to be done in the Case, and for Prevention of the like Evils for the future. Complaint against seditious Pamphlets.

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The Houſe had debated for ſeveral Days paſt, in a Grand Committee, a Propoſal for an Equality of Taxes: And on the 14th they came to the following Reſolution, *viz.* That the next Aſſeſſment throughout the Nation be by a fix'd Sum on each reſpective County, to be levied by a Pound-Rate upon Eſtates, Real and Perſonal. And that it be referred to the Committee of the Army to conſider how theſe Votes might be made practicable with the greateſt Impartiality: But this equitable Reſolution was afterwards ſet aſide.

The Act for taking the Engagement repealed in part.

The Reader may remember the Engagement, or Oath, to be true to a Commonwealth Government, without either King or Houſe of Lords [P], which was enjoined, by the laſt Parliament, to be taken and ſubſcribed by all above the Age of 18 Years throughout the Kingdom: But there being a Clauſe therein, That no Perſon refuſing to take the ſame ſhould be admitted to ſue for any Legacy or juſt Debt due to him, which had been attended with many grievous and oppreſſive Conſequences to the Subject, a Motion was made in the Houſe, on the 20th of this Month, by Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, to take it away; and a Bill for that Purpoſe was read a firſt Time: But the Queſtion being put for a ſecond Reading, it paſs'd in the Negative by 48 againſt 23. However, the Committee of the Law were ordered to bring in another Bill for the Redreſs of the Abuſe of pleading the Engagement in Bar of Suits, in Courts of Law and Equity: But it went no further during this Parliament.

An Act touching Compoſitions for Delinquents Eſtates.

Oct. 21. Another Diviſion happened in the Houſe, after reading a third Time a Bill for enabling the Commiſſioners of Parliament for compounding with Delinquents, to diſpoſe of two Parts of the Lands and Eſtates of Recuſants, for the Benefit of the Commonwealth. And the Queſtion being

[P] In our 19th Volume, p. 243.

being put, That this Bill do paſs, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 47 againſt 23, and ordered to be printed and publiſhed. Inter-regnum 1653. October.

A Bill had been brought in, for uniting and incorporating *Scotland* into one Free State and Commonwealth with *England*, which was debated in a Grand Committee of the whole Houſe, on the 25th and ſome Days after; but was never concluded, by reaſon of their ſudden Diſſolution. A Bill was alſo ordered in, to make thoſe Perſons incapable of Places who ſhould ſollicit for them; together with another for regulating the great Exorbitance of Fees in the Law and elſewhere; and for the better Election of Jurors. Several remarkable Bills in Agitation.

A Bill had been likewiſe brought in, for appointing Commiſſioners to ſit and determine Cauſes in Equity; which being debated on the 27th, it was rejected, by a Majority of 44 againſt 36; many Members being of Opinion that it would be a Setting up of two Courts rather than Removing of one; of Eſtabliſhing the Court of Chancery rather than the Taking of it away: And another Bill, more conformable to the Vote of the 5th of *Auguſt* laſt, was order'd in; whereby the Court of Chancery was to be aboliſhed, and a Proviſion made for the Diſpatch of the Cauſes depending, at this Time, there, and determining Suits of Equity, for the future, in a ſummary Way; ſo as that the Expence thereof ſhould not, in general, exceed 30 or 40 *s.*

The Houſe had likewiſe reſolved to reduce the Number of Officers in the Exciſe and other Duties, and lower their reſpective Salaries, in order to a Saving of the public Charge.

But all theſe great Matters were left unfiniſhed, for the Reaſon above-mentioned.

November. This Month began with the Election of a Council of State for the enſuing Year: A Reſolution had paſſed, That ſixteen of the old Council ſhould ſtand, and fifteen be changed. The Form of the Election was much the ſame as formerly A new Council of State elected.

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merly. The Members preſent were 113; and though the Houſe was much divided upon this Occaſion, yet it is remarkable that the Lord General *Cromwell* had every Vote: The other Perſons to be continued in the Council were Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Major-General *Deſborough*, *Walter Strickland* and *Henry Lawrence*, Eſq^rs. Colonels *William Sydenham* and *Philip Jones*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Alderman *Tichburn*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bart. *John Carew*, Eſq; Col. *Edward Montagu*, Major-General *Harriſon*, Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, *Richard Major* and *Charles Howard*, Eſq^rs. The new elected were Col. *Anthony Rous*, Sir *William Roberts*, *John Sadler*, Eſq; Sir *Robert King*, Knt. Col. *Henry Cromwell*, Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*, Sir *William Brownlow*, Col. *Nathaniel Barton*, *George* Lord *Eure*, *John Stone*, Eſq; Colonels *George Fleetwood* and *John James*, *John Anlaby* and *Jervas Bennet*, Eſq^rs. and Col. *Bingham*.

The Monthly Aſſeſſment for the Army continued.

After debating, for ſome Days, the Inſtructions to be given to the new Council of State, and ordering in a Bill for ratifying the ſame, the Houſe next proceeded to renew the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 120,000*l.* to continue for ſix Months longer: And, on a Diviſion of 50 againſt 27, it was carried, That this Sum be divided amongſt the ſeveral Counties, according to the laſt Act. It was afterwards reſolved, That the Monthly Sum of 10,016*l.* 10*s.* ſhould be charged upon *Scotland*, for the Maintenance of the Forces there, for eight Months, to commence from the firſt Inſtant.

Debate on a Bill for a new Model of the Law.

In the Proceedings of *Auguſt* we mentioned that a Committee was appointed to conſider of a new Body of the Law: The Houſe afterwards appointed every *Friday* to be ſet a-part for this important Buſineſs, which occaſioned great Debates. The Account whereof is thus given by a Member of this Convention, which we ſhall copy in his own Words[q].

The

[q] *An exact Relation*, &c. p. 15. *et ſeq.*

'The Clerk of the Houſe, in drawing up the Queſtion, put the Word *Body* inſtead of *Model*, which ſome Members, Friends to this Vote, deſired to have altered; but others, Lovers of the Law as it now ſtood, oppoſed the Alteration of the Word, being very angry at the Vote; and ſo it went as it was, with ſome ſeeming Diſadvantage, by means of the Word *Body*, which ſome of thoſe aforeſaid angry Gentlemen would needs fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to deſtroy and take away the Laws we had been fighting for all this while as our Birth-Right and Inheritance: And ſuch a Noiſe was made about it, that made many believe that the Houſe was made up of Monſters, rather than Men of Reaſon and Judgment: But there were ſome very ſober and moderate Gentlemen, in the Account of all Men, that concurred heartily in this Vote. Inter-regnum. 1653. November.

'Some of the Reaſons that were alledged in the Debate producing this Vote, was the Intricacy, Uncertainty, and Incongruity in many Things, with the Word of God and right Reaſon, in the Laws as they now are.

'*Firſt*, That whereas the Laws ought to be eaſy, plain and ſhort, ſo that they who were to be ſubject to them, and have Benefit by them, might be able to know and underſtand them in ſome good Meaſure, they are now ſo voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the Knowledge of them. Thoſe of the Profeſſion of the Law differ, in very many Caſes, what the Law is, and are of ſeveral Opinions about this Thing and the other; and then how ſhould others, tho' highly concern'd, be able to underſtand them, and their Intereſt therein contain'd; there being ſo many Law-Books of great Bulk, ſo many old muſty Records, Reports and Book-Caſes, as that, after the Time ſpent in School-Learning, the reſt of the Time of the Flower of a Man's Years would be little enough to read them over and peruſe them.

That

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'That, beſides, thoſe Records and Book-Caſes are very ill Guides or Lights to go by, for who knoweth the Circumſtances that did attend them, which often alter the whole Caſe? Who knoweth whether, in thoſe Caſes, Bribery did not make the Judgment, or the Powerfulneſs of ſome great Man, or the Love or Hatred of the Judge, or the Negligence or Corruption of the Advocate? And, beſides, in thoſe Law-Caſes, ſome Precedents are directly contrary to others; and an Advocate or Counſel alledgeth one Caſe or Report, and another another; and then the Judge followeth which he pleaſeth: How arbitrary is the Law in this Caſe? And at what Uncertainty are the great Intereſts and Properties of Men?

'Beſides, how various are the Cuſtoms which, notwithſtanding, paſs for Law? Uſually unknown but to ſome old Men of the Place; which, tho' it be ever ſo unrighteous and unreaſonable, *Time out of Mind* carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the Statute-Books? And of ſo great a Price that few are able to buy them; and ſo large that few can ſpare Time to read them, to know their Right, and how they are concerned in them; and yet they muſt be judged, and ſtand or fall by them. And many Times ſome muſty Statute, of a hundred Years old and more imprinted, is found and made Uſe of by ſome crafty Lawyer, to the Undoing of an honeſt Man that meant no Hurt, nor knew any Thing at all of the Danger.

'Upon ſomething held forth to this Effect, the Vote was firſt carried for a new Body or Model of the Law; and a Committee choſen to that End, who met often, and had the Help of ſome Gentlemen of Worth, that had deſerved well of their Country, being true Patriots; who liked well the Thing, as very uſeful and deſirable, it being not a deſtroying of the Law, or putting it down, as ſome ſcandalouſly reported, but a reducing the wholeſome, juſt and good Laws into a Body, from them that are uſeleſs and out of Date; ſuch as concern'd the Biſhops and Holy Church, ſo call'd, and

and were made in favour of Kings, and the Luſts of great Men, of which there are very many. If the Law of God be eyed, and right Reaſon look'd into in all, there be ſome Laws that are contrary to both; as the putting Men to Death for Theft, the ſparing the Lives of Men for Murder, under the Notion and Name of Manſlaughter; a Term and Diſtinction not found in the righteous Law of God: And that unreaſonable Law, that if a Waggon or Cart, *&c.* driven by the Owner, or ſome other, with never ſo much Care, fall and kill any Perſon, the Owner, though it were his own Son or Servant, that could no way help it, ſhall loſe his Horſe and Waggon by the profane and ſuperſtitious Name of *Deodand*; and the Owners of the Goods ſhall loſe them alſo upon the ſame Account, though they were as innocent as *Abel*. Other Inſtances might alſo be given. Inter-regnum. 1653. November.

'The Way the Committee took in order to their Work, which muſt needs be elaborate, was by reducing the ſeveral Laws to their proper Heads to which they did belong, and ſo modelizing or embodying of them; taking Knowledge of the Nature of them, and what the Law of God ſaid in the Caſe, and how agreeable to right Reaſon they were; likewiſe how proportionable the Puniſhment was to the Offence or Crime; and wherein there ſeem'd any Thing either deficient or exceſſive, to offer a Supply and Remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The Committee began with Criminals; Treaſon being the higheſt, they conſidered the Kinds thereof; what was meet to be adjudged Treaſon in a free Commonwealth, and what was meet to be the Puniſhment of Grand and Petty Treaſon. Then they proceeded to Murder, the Kinds of it, and what was to be ſo adjudg'd, and the Puniſhment thereof. The like they intended concerning Theft, and after to have aſcertained and ſecured Property; as alſo the Executive Part of the Law: So as a Perſon ſhould not need to part with one Property to ſecure and keep another, as now it is; Perſons being forced to loſe the

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the Property of their Cow, to keep the Property of their Horſe; or one Parcel of Land to preſerve and keep another. This Body of Law, when modelized, was to be reported to the Houſe to be conſidered of, and paſſed by them as they ſhould ſee Cauſe: A Work in itſelf great, and of high Eſteem with many, for the good Fruit and Benefit that would ariſe from it: By which Means the huge Volumes of the Law would come to be reduced into the Bigneſs of a Pocket-Book, as it is, proportionably, in *New-England* and elſewhere. A Thing of ſo great Worth and Benefit as *England* is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a ſhort Time to be ſo bleſs'd as to enjoy. And that was the true End and Endeavour of thoſe Members that laboured in that Committee, although it was moſt falſly and wickedly reported, that their Endeavours tended to deſtroying the whole Laws, and pulling them up by the Roots.'

Nov. 10. According to the late annual Cuſtom, this Parliament took upon them to nominate Sheriffs for all the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, and ordered in a Bill to regulate that Office, eſpecially in paſſing their Accounts.

A Bill for taking away Patronage of Benefices.

Nov. 17. This Day the Queſtion being propoſed, That the Power of Patrons to preſent to Benefices ſhall, from henceforth, be taken away, and that a Bill be brought in for that Purpoſe, the Houſe divided; *Yeas* 58, *Noes* 41; ſo the Bill was ordered in accordingly.

Nov. 21. The Bill for conſtituting a High Court of Juſtice was this Day read twice in the Houſe: Then the Commiſſioners Names were read, and voted ſeparately; and, after a third Reading, it paſſed without any Diviſion. The Time of Continuance to be till the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1654.

December. This Parliament, or rather Convention, began now to be near its Period; though ſeveral

veral Bills, and ſome of great Moment, lay yet before them unfiniſhed: Their great Maſter *Cromwell*, who had given them the Power they ſat by, thinking proper, ſhortly after, to retract that Power, and leave them private Perſons as he found them. They continued, however, to ſit and do Buſineſs as uſual, and act as if they had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of a Diſſolution. For

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On the ſecond of this Month the Houſe receiv'd the following Report from the Committee for Tythes, who had ſat long on that Affair. The firſt Article of this Report was, 'That, in their Opinion, the beſt Way for ejecting ignorant, prophane, and ſcandalous Miniſters, was for Commiſſioners to be ſent from thence into all the Counties, divided into ſix Circuits, beſides *London* and *Middleſex*, three Commiſſioners into each Circuit, to join with four or ſix of every County, and each Riding in *Yorkſhire* to be as a County; and that in every County the ſaid Perſons, or five of them, (two of the Parliament's Commiſſioners being always preſent) to be impowered to eject all Miniſters, of that County, that were not of good Behaviour and holy in Converſation, or that were not apt and able to teach, or, in teaching, held not forth the faithful Word; or were not diligent, or laboured not in the Word and Doctrine, or were greedy of filthy Lucre: And to be alſo impower'd to ſettle godly and able Perſons to preach the Goſpel in all void Places, and to unite two or three Pariſhes together, ſo that none were above three Miles from the public Meeting-Place.'

Report from the Committee for Tythes.

The ſecond Article contained only the Names of 21 Commiſſioners, recommended to the Houſe by the Committee, conſiſting of about ten Miniſters, the reſt Laymen, ſome of whom were Officers in the Army.

By the third Article, 'All Perſons approv'd on as public Preachers of the Goſpel in the public Meeting-Places, were to enjoy the Maintenance already ſettled by Law, and ſuch other Encouragement as the Parliament had already appointed, or there-

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thereafter ſhould appoint: And that where any ſcrupled Payment of Tythes, the three next Juſtices of Peace, or two of them, ſhould, upon Complaint, call the Parties concern'd before them; and, by the Oaths of lawful Witneſſes, ſhould duly apportion the Value of the ſaid Tythes to be paid either in Money or Land, by them to be ſet out according to the ſaid Value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the ſaid Tythes; and in caſe ſuch apportion'd Value was not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the Order of the ſaid Juſtices, the Tythes ſhould be paid in Kind, and ſhould be recovered in any Court of Record.

'Laſtly, That upon hearing and conſidering what had been offered to the Committee touching Property in Tythes, of Incumbents, Rectors, Poſſeſſors of Donatives or impropriate Tythes, it was the Opinion of the Committee, That the ſaid Perſons have a legal Property in Tythes.'

But the Houſe came to no preſent Reſolution upon this Buſineſs.

The next Day the Parliament appointed four Generals or Admirals for the Sea Service; the two old ones, *Blake* and *Moncke*, were continued; to whom they added Major-General *Deſborough* and Vice-Admiral *Penn*.

Dec. 7. The Houſe reſumed the Debate upon the Report from the Committee of Tythes, which wholly engaged their Attention, without the leaſt Intervention of other Buſineſs, till the 10th; when the firſt Clauſe of the ſaid Report being read, and the Queſtion put for agreeing with the Committee, it paſs'd in the Negative by ſo ſmall a Majority as 56 againſt 54. And the next Day of their Sitting we find only the following Entry in the *Journals*, *viz.*

The Parliament reſolve to ſurrender back their Power to the Lord-General *Cromwell.*

'*Monday*, *Dec.* 12. It being moved in the Houſe this Day, That the Sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now conſtituted, will not be for the Good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it

it was requiſite to deliver up unto the Lord-General *Cromwell* the Powers which they had received from him; and that Motion being ſeconded by ſeveral other Members, the Houſe roſe; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the Houſe, departed out of the Houſe to *Whitehall*; where they, being the greater Number of the Members ſitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing under their Hands, reſign unto his Excellency their ſaid Powers: And Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did preſent the ſame to his Excellency accordingly.' Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

This Convention being thus laid aſide, without any other Notice taken of the Suddenneſs of it, in the *Journals*, it will be neceſſary to look into the Hiſtorians of theſe Times, to ſearch for the Reaſons of State which occaſion'd it.

Mr. *Whitlocke* is very ſhort in his Account of this Tranſaction; but a good Reaſon may be given for it: He was then gone Ambaſſador to *Sweden*, and did not return till ſome Time after the Diſſolution. And he has hinted, in another Part of his *Memoirs*, That he was purpoſely ſent abroad at this Time, by *Cromwell*, for fear he ſhould any ways obſtruct his ambitious Deſigns. So that we find nothing more in his Work, than what we may ſuppoſe he copied out of the *Journals* at his Return, ſince it is almoſt *verbatim* the ſame with them.—But Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* is much more explicit in this Matter, as appears by the following Extract from his *Memoirs*[r]: Motives thereto, and the Manner thereof.

'The perfidious *Cromwell* having forgot his moſt ſolemn Profeſſions and former Vows, as well as the Blood and Treaſure that had been ſpent in this Conteſt, thought it high Time to take off the Maſk; and reſolved to ſacrifice all our Victories and Deliverances to his Pride and Ambition, under Colour of taking upon him the Office, as it were, of a High Conſtable, in order to keep the Peace

[r] Vol. II. p. 472.

Peace of the Nation, and to reſtrain Men from cutting one another's Throats. One Difficulty yet remained to obſtruct his Deſign, and that was the Convention which he had aſſembled, and inveſted with Power, as well as earneſtly ſolicited, to reform the Law, and reduce the Clergy to a more Evangelical Conſtitution. And having ſufficiently alarmed thoſe Intereſts, and ſhewn them their Danger from this Convention, he informed them farther, that they could not be ignorant of the Confuſion that all Things were brought into by the immoderate Zeal of thoſe in Authority, and to what Extremities Matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; poſſibly, ſaid he, to the utter Extirpation of Law and Goſpel; and therefore adviſed that they would join their Intereſts to his, in order to prevent this Inundation. His Propoſition was readily embraced by the corrupt Part of the Lawyers and Clergy, and ſo he became their Protector, and they the humble Supporters of his Tyranny. But that his Uſurpation might ſeem leſs horrid, he ſo contrived it by his Inſtruments, that ſome of the Convention muſt openly manifeſt their Diſapprobation of their own Proceedings; and, under divers ſpecious Pretences, put a Period to their ſitting.

'To this End it was agreed by Mr. *Rouſe*, Chairman to that Aſſembly, and the reſt of *Cromwell*'s Junto, to meet earlier in the Houſe than uſual, which was done accordingly on the 12th of *December*, 1653, hoping, by Surprize, to obtain a Vote for their Diſſolution: Being met, Col. *Sydenham*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, and others, according to their Inſtructions, bitterly inveighed againſt the Tranſactions of the Convention; and particularly charged them with a Deſign to deſtroy the Army, by not making a ſufficient and timely Proviſion for their Pay. They alledged, That tho' they had voted them a Sum of Money, yet having reſolved to raiſe it by way of a Pound-Rate, it would take up ſo much Time to bring it in, that the Army muſt either ſtarve by Want, or oppreſs the

the Country by Free-Quarter. A ſecond Ground of their Invectives was taken from a Motion made, that the Great Officers of the Army ſhould ſerve without Pay for one Year. They accuſed them alſo of endeavouring to deſtroy the Clergy, the Law, and the Property of the Subject; inſtancing in their denying a Right of Preſentation to the Patrons of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: And, in general, that they had not a Frame of Spirit to do Juſtice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir *John Stawell*, when he made his Application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the Clergy, Lawyers, Cavaliers, and all Intereſts, except that which they ſhould have had moſt Regard to.

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'They thought to have prevented any Debate about their Deſign, by meeting ſo early in the Morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the Houſe to anſwer their Objections. To that concerning the Army it was ſaid, That the Pound-Rate was found to be the moſt equal Way of raiſing Money, and therefore reſolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in ſoon enough for the Soldiers Supply: That they thought it reaſonable and juſt, that the Great Officers of the Army, who were poſſeſſed of plentiful Eſtates, and had received all their Arrears, ſhould abate ſomewhat of their Superfluities; and ſerve for a little Time freely, as well as thoſe who were employed in Civil Affairs, whoſe Labour and Hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the Public Good; eſpecially conſidering how much this Conduct would contribute to the Eaſe and Satisfaction of the People, who could not be ignorant that there were now no preſſing Occaſions of Charge or Danger, the Enemy being every-where entirely ſubdued. To what had been done in order to a Reformation of the Law and Clergy, it was anſwered, That as they conceived there was great Need of it, ſo they had been told that they were called together principally for that End; and that if they had done any Thing too much there-

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ill, the Gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit so to do, having themselves been the Men that pressed them continually to go much farther than they had done.' 'To the Objection concerning Presentations, they said, That the Method used therein seemed to them too unreasonable to be continued; it being, in effect, to give a Power to the Greatest of the Parish, who were not always the Best, to prescribe what Religion they pleased to the Parishioners, by presenting a Person, however unfit for that Office, to be their Minister. Lastly, in Answer to the Charge of denying Relief to Sir *John Stawell*, it was answered, 'That the Consideration of that Matter was before them, and that they would not have failed to act as his Case deserved.'

Thus far Mr. *Ludlow*; who, being at this Time in *Ireland*, could write upon Information only. We shall therefore add some Particulars collected into one View, from three different Members of this Convention, said to have been present at the Dissolution of it[r]; observing only, that our *Memo-Haliff*'s Narrative of this Transaction is, in general, confirmed by all these Contemporaries, whose further Account of it runs thus:

'As soon as the Speaker had taken the Chair, a Member stood up, and spoke to this Effect: 'That he must disburden himself of some Things that had a long Time laid upon his Heart: That he was now to speak to the *Esse*, or Being, rather than the *Bene esse*, or Well-being, of the Commonwealth; which was ready to sink, through the ill Management of the Authority intrusted to that Assembly; and that, for his own Part, he must resign his Power from whence he had it; foreseeing clearly that their Waitings and Expectations of ever coming on to Things of Public Good were more

[r] *An exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Parliament which began* July 4, 1653. By a Member thereof.

A true Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the late Parliament upon the 12th of December, 1653, by a Member present at that Transaction.

An Answer to the above Narrative, by another Member.

more and more diſappointed: [He then inſtanced the Particulars touching the Army, the Clergy, the Law, *&c.* as before recited] And that, for theſe Conſiderations, he could not ſatisfy himſelf to ſit any longer in the Houſe, and ſo be guilty of bringing Confuſion and Deſolation upon the Nation: But if any would yet be ſo hardy as to continue there, he would ſay unto them, in the Words of the Prophet, Ephraim *hath joined himſelf to Idols; let him alone.*'

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'This Motion being ſeconded by two more, with ſome bitter Invectives, another Member ſtood up; and (declaring himſelf to ſpeak with much Diſadvantage in that he had not, as the other Gentleman, any premeditated Thing to ſay) told the Speaker, 'He had in his Hand an Expedient in reference to the Things comprehended in the Vote of the 10th of *December*, concerning Tythes, which he hoped would ſatisfy all; and that the Committee for regulating the Law had ready to be offered to the Houſe, ſeveral Bills of very great Concernment to the Good and Eaſe of the People; proteſting before God, Angels, and Men, his Diſſatisfaction to the propoſed Reſignation, as being deſtructive to the Commonwealth.' Some Gentlemen ſtanding up to ſecond him, were not ſuffered to ſpeak. Others continued to preſs the former Motion, inſiſting, 'That it was not now a Time to debate:' Whereupon the Speaker, tho' earneſtly called on to keep the Chair, left it; and the Serjeant, as if he had been of his Counſel, took up the Mace, and carried it before him, though much urged to the contrary.' Theſe were inſtantly joined by the Chief Clerk, and followed by about 80 Members, who went directly to *Whitehall*, and there ſubſcribed a Reſignation of their Power to the Lord-General. Thirty odd ſtaid in the Houſe till Colonel *Goffe* and Major *White* came in, and intreated them earneſtly to go out. To which it was as earneſtly replied, That at their perſonal Requeſt they could not, nor would not, withdraw, unleſs compell'd by Force. Whereupon the Of-

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ficers calling in a File of Muſketeers, the Members withdrew; and ſome of theſe went, three or four Days after, and ſubſcribed the Inſtrument of Reſignation.

'When this Inſtrument, ſo ſigned, was brought to *Cromwell*, he lifted up his Eyes with Aſtoniſhment; and, with no leſs ſeeming Modeſty, refuſed to receive it; but, at length, through the Importunity of Major-General *Lambert* and others, repreſenting to him that the Welfare of the Nation abſolutely required his Acceptance of the Parliament's Reſignation, he thought fit to comply with their Requeſt.'——Though it is the concurrent Opinion of all Contemporary Writers, that *Cromwell*'s Refuſal to accept of this Offer of the Legiſlative Power was meer Hypocriſy, and that this formal Surrender of it was a Contrivance of his own, in order to pave the Way to the Protectorate; yet in a Speech made to the enſuing Parliament, *Sept.* 12, 1654, he poſitively affirms, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, 'That he was ſo far from having any Hand in this Project, that he was an abſolute Stranger to the Deſign, till the Speaker, with the major Part of the Houſe, came to him with the Inſtrument of their Reſignation.'

Remarks thereon.

Before we take our Leave of this Convention, we ſhall mention a very high Charge brought againſt them by Lord *Clarendon*. His Lordſhip writes [a], 'That theſe Men who took upon themſelves the Supreme Authority of the Nation, and continued to act in that Capacity near ſix Months, to the Amazement and even Mirth of the People, never entered upon any grave or ſerious Debate, that might tend to any Settlement; but generally expreſſed great Sharpneſs and Animoſity againſt the Clergy, and againſt all Learning; out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and ſtill would grow. That they look'd upon the Function itſelf to be Anti-Chriſtian, the Perſons to be burdenſome to the People, and the requiring and paying of Tythes to be abſolute *Judaiſm*, and ſo thought fit

[a] *Hiſtory*, Vol. VI. p. 484.

fit that they ſhould be aboliſhed together: And that there might not, for the Time to come, be any Race of People who might revive theſe Pretences, they propoſed, That all Lands belonging to the Univerſities, and Colleges in thoſe Univerſities, might be ſold; and that the Money ariſing thereby ſhould be diſpoſed of for the Public Service, and to eaſe the People from the Payment of Taxes and Contributions.'——But, upon a ſtrict Review of the *Journals*, it does not appear that any ſuch Motion, or Propoſal, relating to the Univerſities, was ever made in the Houſe. What might be intended by ſome Zealots, we pretend not to determine: But the only Attempt that carried any Tendency that Way, was the Scheme for aboliſhing of Tythes: And this Project, as we are aſſured by a Member of this Convention [t], was ſo far from being intended to the Prejudice of the Parochial Clergy, that the Deſign was only to take away the Manner of Maintenance by Tythes as unequal, burdenſome, and being the Occaſion of litigious Law Suits; and that a Bill was offered, on the Day of the Parliament's Reſignation, for rendering the Revenues of the Clergy more certain and equal, by reducing Benefices of 200 *l.* a-year and upwards, and advancing thoſe of a ſmaller Income; and alſo for making a Proviſion for the Widows and Children of Miniſters; but that this equitable Propoſal was refuſed a Reading; and that therefore the Charge againſt one Part of the Houſe, of an Intent to deſtroy the Miniſtry, was a groundleſs Reproach, caſt upon thoſe who endeavoured only to take off Oppreſſions and Grievances.'—— The Truth of this Gentleman's Aſſertion ſeems the leſs liable to be controverted, becauſe it is an inconteſtable Fact, though generally paſſed over by the Hiſtorians of theſe Times, 'That the Long Parliament, when they aboliſhed Epiſcopacy and ſold the Temporal Revenues of the Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, *&c.* made an expreſs Reſerve of all their Impropriations, which were to be applied to

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[t] *An exact Relation*, &c.

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the Increaſe of the Revenues of the Parochial Clergy and Heads of Colleges; and the ſame Reſerve of Impropriations was made in the Act [t] paſſed, by this Convention, for enabling Delinquents to compound for their Eſtates. The *Journals* alſo abound with Inſtances wherein thoſe Gentlemen, who had the Misfortune to be under Sequeſtration for their Loyalty to the King, were obliged to endow the reſpective Vicarages of which they were Impropriators, with a Portion of the Tythe; and the Value of ſuch Portion, upon a Calculation of Years, was allowed in Part of Payment of their Compoſitions.

We are very far from entering into a Vindication of this Unconſtitutional Aſſembly. It is certain that the Manner of their being convened, in Obedience to *Cromwell*'s Warrant of Nomination, was the moſt flagrant Inſtance of Invaſion upon the Rights and Liberties of all the Electors of the Three Nations our whole Hiſtory affords; and was abſolutely ſubverſive of the very Being of Parliaments. But whether they deſerve all that Ignominy which has been caſt upon them by the Contemporary Hiſtorians we have cited in our Account of their Tranſactions, and ſome Modern Writers who have implicitly copied them [u], will beſt appear by the Laws they made, and the Bills they were employed about at the Time of their Diſſolution.——Thus much by way of Digreſſion.

But to return:——

Cromwell having, as before obſerved, accepted the Parliament's Inſtrument of Reſignation, under their

[t] This Act, which is not printed in *Scobell's Collections*, may be ſeen in *Hughes's Abridgement*, p. 498.

[u] Mr. *Rapin* writes, 'That this Ridiculous Aſſembly did nothing worth remembering in a Seſſion of more than five Months.' Vol. II. *Fol. Edit.* p. 590.

And Mr. *Carte*, from whom we expected ſome new Lights to be thrown upon this important Criſis of Hiſtory, beſtows little more than a Page upon the whole Tranſactions of this Aſſembly; which being chiefly copied from Lord *Clarendon*, he has fallen into the ſame Miſtake about ſelling the Univerſities Lands. Vol. IV. p. 658.

their Hands and Seals, the ſame Day called a Council of Officers and others, whom our *Journaliſts*[w] ſtyle Perſons of Intereſt in the Nation; and having conſulted with them how this great Burden of governing *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the Armies thereon, and Navies at Sea, ſhould be borne, and by whom; after ſeveral Days ſeeking of God, and adviſing thereon, it was reſolved, That a Council of godly, able, and diſcreet Perſons ſhould be named, to conſiſt of not more than 21, nor leſs than 13: And that his Excellency be choſen Lord Protector of the Three Nations.

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Cromwell declared Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Names of this Council were, *Henry Lawrence*, Eſq; the Preſident; *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*; the Majors General *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, and *Skippon*; Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; the Colonels *Edward Montagu*, *Philip Jones*, and *William Sydenham*; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bart[s]. *Francis Rouſe*, Eſq; Speaker of the late Convention, *Walter Strickland*, and *Richard Major*, Eſq[rs]. moſt of whom had been principally concerned in bringing about the late Reſignation[x]; by which all Obſtacles to *Cromwell*'s Glory being quite removed, he was, four Days after, declared Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: The Form and Manner of which unprecedented Ceremonial we ſhall deſcribe as particularly as poſſible.

The Form and Manner of his Inauguration.

On the 16th of *December* his Excellency came from *Whitehall*, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners

[w] *Proceedings on State Affairs*, N°. 221. *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, N°. 183. See alſo an intercepted Letter on this Subject, in *Thurloe*'s Papers, Vol. I. p. 632.

[x] Mr. *Ludlow* informs us, 'That *Cromwell* having, as a public Robber, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Nation's Purſe, diſtributed 1000*l*. *per Ann.* to each of his Council, becauſe nothing of Conſcience or Honour could be preſumed would ever keep them ſteady in their Fidelity to his Uſurpation.' *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 479.

The Author of a Piece intitled, *A modeſt Vindication of* Oliver Cromwell, *from the unjuſt Accuſations of Lieutenant-General* Ludlow, (printed in the Year 1698) imputes the ſevere Reflections this *Memorialiſt* ſo plentifully beſtows upon *Cromwell*, after his Advancement to the Protectorate, to a Reſentment at the Diſappointment of his own Ambition by the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament and the ſetting aſide a Commonwealth Government.

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ers of the Great Seal of *England*; the Judges and Barons of the ſeveral Benches in their Robes; and moſt of the Council of the Commonwealth: The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns, with the Recorder, Town-Clerk, and Sword-Bearer with the Cap of Maintenance and Sword, but not erected, paſſed immediately before his Excellency; all in their Coaches. Laſt of all came his Excellency himſelf, in his own Coach, dreſſed in a black Velvet Suit and Cloak, with his Life-Guard, and divers Gentlemen bare before him; many of the chief Officers of the Army, with their Cloaks and Swords, and Hats on, paſſed on Foot before and about his Coach.

In this Equipage his Excellency and Attendants came to the Court of Chancery in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where was placed a rich Chair of State, with a large Cuſhion and Carpets on the Floor. The Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal ſtood on each Side of the Chair, and his Excellency on the Left Hand of it, all bare-headed: Round about the Chair ſtood all the Judges and the Council of State; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were placed on the Right Side of the Court, and the chief Officers of the Army on the Left.

Then Major-General *Lambert*, after declaring the Diſſolution of the Parliament and the great Exigency of the Times, did, in the Name of the Army, and of the Three Nations, deſire the Lord-General to accept of the Protectorſhip; to which, with ſeemingly great Reluctance, having given his Conſent, the following Inſtrument was read aloud by Mr. *Jeſſop*, one of the Secretaries of the Council:

And the Articles for the future Government of the Commonwealth,

The GOVERNMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

I. *THAT the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, ſhall be*

be and reſide in one Perſon, and the People aſſembled in Parliament; the Style of which Perſon ſhall be The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.* Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

II. *That the Exerciſe of the chief Magiſtracy, and the Adminiſtration of the Government over the ſaid Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, ſhall be in the Lord Protector, aſſiſted with a Council, the Number whereof ſhall not exceed* 21, *nor be leſs than* 13.

III. *That all Writs, Proceſs, Commiſſions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Style of* The Keepers of the Liberty of *England* by Authority of Parliament, *ſhall run in the Name and Style of* The Lord Protector, *from whom, for the future, ſhall be derived all Magiſtracy and Honours in theſe three Nations; and have the Power of Pardons (except in caſe of Murders and Treaſon) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Uſe; and ſhall govern the ſaid Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to theſe Preſents and the Laws.*

IV. *That the Lord Protector, the Parliament ſitting, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia and Forces, both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the Three Nations, by Conſent of Parliament; and that the Lord Protector, with the Advice and Conſent of the major Part of the Council, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia for the Ends aforeſaid in the Intervals of Parliament.*

V. *That the Lord Protector, by the Advice aforeſaid, ſhall direct in all Things concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correſpondency with foreign Kings, Princes, and States; and alſo, with the Conſent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.*

VI. *That the Laws ſhall not be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Impoſition laid upon the People, but by common Conſent in Parliament, ſave only as is expreſs'd in the* 30*th Article.*

VII.

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VII. *That there ſhall be a Parliament ſummoned to meet at* Weſtminſter *upon the third Day of* September, 1654, *and that ſucceſſively a Parliament ſhall be ſummoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament.*

VIII. *That neither the Parliament to be next ſummoned, nor any ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their firſt Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent.*

IX. *That as well the next as all other ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall be ſummoned and elected in Manner hereafter expreſs'd; that is to ſay, the Perſons to be choſen within* England, Wales, *the Iſles of* Jerſey, Guernſey, *and the Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of* 400. *The Perſons to be choſen within* Scotland, *to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of* 30: *And the Perſons to be choſen to ſit in Parliament for* Ireland, *ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of* 30.

X. *That the Perſons to be elected, to ſit in Parliament from Time to Time, for the ſeveral Counties of* England, Wales, *the Iſles of* Jerſey *and* Guernſey, *and the Town of* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *and all Places within the ſame reſpectively, ſhall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter expreſs'd: That is to ſay,*

BEDFORDSHIRE	5	*Cambridge* Town	1
Bedford Town	1	*Cambridge* Univerſity	1
BERKSHIRE	5	Iſle of *Ely*	2
Abingdon	1	CHESHIRE	4
Reading	1	*Cheſter*	1
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	5	CORNWALL	8
Buckingham Town	1	*Launceſton*	1
Ayleſbury	1	*Truro*	1
Wycomb	1	*Penryn*	1
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	4	*Eaſtlow* and *Weſtlow*	1

CUM-

CUMBERLAND —— 2
Carliſle —— —— 1
DERBYSHIRE —— —— 4
Derby Town —— —— 1
DEVONSHIRE —— —— 11
Exeter —— —— —— 2
Plymouth —— —— 2
Clifton, *Dartmouth*, *Hardneſs* } 1
Totneſs —— —— 1
Barnſtable —— —— 1
Tiverton —— —— 1
Honiton —— —— 1
DORSETSHIRE —— 6
Dorcheſter —— —— 1
Weymouth and *Melcomb-Regis* } 1
Lyme-Regis —— —— 1
Pool —— —— —— 1
DURHAM —— —— 2
City of *Durham* —— 1
ESSEX —— —— —— 13
Malden —— —— —— 1
Colcheſter —— —— 2
GLOUCESTERSHIRE 5
Glouceſter —— —— 2
Tewkſbury —— —— 1
Cirenceſter —— —— 1
HEREFORDSHIRE —— 4
Hereford —— —— 1
Leominſter —— —— 1
HERTFORDSHIRE —— 5
St. Alban's —— —— 1
Hertford —— —— 1
HUNTINGDONSHIRE 3
Huntingdon —— —— 1
KENT —— —— —— 11
Canterbury —— —— 2
Rocheſter —— —— 1
Maidſtone —— —— 1
Dover —— —— —— 1
Sandwich —— —— 1
Queenborough —— 1
LANCASHIRE —— —— 4
Preſton —— —— —— 1
Lancaſter —— —— 1
Liverpool —— —— 1
Mancheſter —— —— 1
LEICESTERSHIRE —— 4
Leiceſter —— —— 2
LINCOLNSHIRE —— 10
Lincoln —— —— —— 2
Boſton —— —— —— 1
Grantham —— —— 1
Stamford —— —— —— 1
Great Grimſby —— 1
MIDDLESEX —— —— 4
London —— —— —— 6
Weſtminſter —— —— 2
MONMOUTHSHIRE —— 3
NORFOLK —— —— —— 10
Norwich —— —— —— 2
Lynn-Regis —— —— 2
Great-Yarmouth —— 2
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE —— 6
Peterborough —— —— 1
Northampton —— —— 1
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE 4
Nottingham —— —— 2
NORTHUMBERLAND 3
Newcaſtle upon *Tyne* 1
Berwick —— —— —— 1
OXFORDSHIRE —— —— 5
Oxford City —— —— 1
Oxford Univerſity —— 1
Woodſtock —— —— 1
RUTLANDSHIRE —— 2
SHROPSHIRE —— —— 4
Shrewſbury —— —— 2
Bridgnorth —— —— 1
Ludlow —— —— —— 1
STAFFORDSHIRE —— 3
Lichfield —— —— 1
Stafford —— —— —— 1

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Ber-

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Newcaſtle under Line	1	*New Sarum*	2
SOMERSETSHIRE	11	*Marlborough*	1
Briſtol	2	*Devizes*	1
Taunton	2	WORCESTERSHIRE	5
Bath	1	*Worceſter*	2
Wells	1	YORKSHIRE	
Bridgwater	1	*Weſt-Riding*	6
SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE	8	*Eaſt-Riding*	4
Wincheſter	1	*North-Riding*	4
Southampton	1	City of *York*	2
Portſmouth	1	*Kingſton* upon *Hull*	1
Iſle of *Wight*	2	*Beverley*	1
Andover	1	*Scarbrough*	1
SUFFOLK	10	*Richmond*	1
Ipſwich	2	*Leeds*	1
Bury St. Edmond's	2	*Halifax*	1
Dunwich	1		
Sudbury	1	WALES.	
SURREY	6		
Southwark	2	ANGLESEY	2
Guilford	1	BRECKNOCKSHIRE	2
Ryegate	1	CARDIGANSHIRE	2
SUSSEX	9	CARMARTHENSHIRE	2
Chicheſter	1	CARNARVONSHIRE	2
Lewes	1	DENBIGHSHIRE	2
Eaſt-Grinſtead	1	FLINTSHIRE	2
Arundel	1	GLAMORGANSHIRE	2
Rye	1	*Cardiffe*	1
WESTMORELAND	2	MERIONETHSHIRE	1
WARWICKSHIRE	4	MONTGOMERYSHIRE	2
Coventry	2	PEMBROKESHIRE	2
Warwick	1	*Haverford-Weſt*	1
WILTSHIRE	10	RADNORSHIRE	2

The Diſtribution of the Perſons to be choſen for Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Places therein, ſhall be according to ſuch Proportions and Number as ſhall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council, before the ſending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament.*

XI. *That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of* England, *directed to the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, with such Alteration as may suit with the present Government, to be made by the Lord Protector and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall seal, issue, and send abroad by Warrant from the Lord Protector. If the Lord Protector shall not give Warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the first of* June, 1654, *or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the first Day of* August *in every third Year, to be accounted as aforesaid; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, shall, without any Warrant or Direction, within seven Days after the said first Day of* June, 1654, *seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the several and respective Sheriffs of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *for summoning the Parliament to meet at* Westminster, *the third Day of* September *next; and shall likewise, within seven Days after the said first Day of* August, *in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the precedent Parliament, seal, issue, and send abroad several Writs of Summons, (changing therein what is to be changed) as aforesaid, for summoning the Parliament to meet at* Westminster *the sixth of* November, *in that third Year. That the said several and respective Sheriffs shall, within ten Days after the Receipt of such Writ as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market Days thereof, between Twelve and Three of the Clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month, for chusing Members to serve in Parliament for the Body of the said County, according to the Tenor of the said Writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five Weeks after the Date of the Writ; and shall likewise declare the Place where the Election shall be made: For which Purpose he shall appoint the most convenient Place*

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Place for the whole County to meet in; and ſhall ſend Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough, or Place within his County, where Elections are to be made by Virtue of theſe Preſents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head-Officer of ſuch City, Town, Borough, or Place, within three Days after the Receipt of ſuch Writ and Writs; which the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs, and Officers reſpectively are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for ſuch Elections to be made in the ſaid City, Town, or Place aforeſaid, and to cauſe Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. *That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head-Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places reſpectively, ſhall take View of the ſaid Elections, and ſhall make Return into the Chancery within twenty Days after the ſaid Elections, of the Perſons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under their Hands and Seals, between him on the one Part, and the Electors on the other Part; wherein ſhall be contained, That the Perſons elected ſhall not have Power to alter the Government as it is hereby ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.*

XIII. *That the Sheriff, who ſhall wittingly and willingly make any falſe Return, or neglect his Duty, ſhall incur the Penalty of 2000 Marks of lawful Engliſh Money; the one Moiety to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to ſuch Perſon as will ſue for the ſame.*

XIV. *That all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have aided, adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the firſt Day of* January, 1641, *(unleſs they have been ſince in the Service of the Parliament, and given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection thereunto) ſhall be diſabled and uncapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to ſerve in the next Parliament, or in the three ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments.*

XV.

XV. *That all ſuch, who have adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted the Rebellion of* Ireland, *ſhall be diſabled and uncapable for ever to be elected, or give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſerve in Parliament; as alſo all ſuch who do or ſhall profeſs the Roman Catholick Religion.* Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

XVI. *That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to, theſe Qualifications, ſhall be null and void: And if any Perſon, who is hereby made uncapable, ſhall give his Vote for Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, ſuch Perſon ſhall loſe and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Eſtate, and one full third Part of his Perſonal Eſtate; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to him or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame.*

XVII. *That the Perſons who ſhall be elected to ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be ſuch (and no other than ſuch) as are Perſons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Converſation, and being of the Age of twenty-one Years.*

XVIII. *That all and every Perſon and Perſons ſeized or poſſeſſed to his own Uſe, of any Eſtate real or perſonal, to the Value of* 200l. *and not within the aforeſaid Exceptions, ſhall be capable to elect Members to ſerve in Parliament for Counties.*

XIX. *That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall be ſworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to iſſue forth, and ſend abroad, Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner before expreſſed: And in caſe of Neglect or Failure to iſſue and ſend abroad Writs accordingly, he or they ſhall for every ſuch Offence be guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.*

XX. *That in caſe Writs be not iſſued out, as is before expreſſed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the ſame ought to be iſſued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; that then the Parliament ſhall, as often as ſuch Failure ſhall happen, aſſemble and be held at* Weſtminſter, *in the uſual Place,*

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Place, at the Times preſix'd, in Manner and by the Means hereafter expreſs'd; that is to ſay, That the Sheriffs of the ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforeſaid, within England, Wales, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the Univerſities of* Oxford *and* Cambridge, *and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Borough of* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *and other the Places aforeſaid reſpectively, ſhall at the ſeveral Courts and Places to be appointed as aforeſaid, within thirty Days after the ſaid fifteen Days, cauſe ſuch Members to be choſen for their ſaid ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforeſaid, by ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Manner, as if ſeveral and reſpective Writs of Summons to Parliament under the Great Seal had iſſued and been awarded according to the Tenor aboveſaid: That if the Sheriff, or other Perſons authorized, ſhall neglect his or their Duty herein, that all and every ſuch Sheriff and Perſon authorized as aforeſaid, ſo neglecting his or their Duty, ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.*

XXI. *That the Clerk, call'd the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery for the Time being, and all others, who ſhall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns ſhall be made, ſhall for the next Parliament, and the two ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after ſuch Return, certify the Names of the ſeveral Perſons ſo returned, and of the Places for which he and they were choſen reſpectively, unto the Council; who ſhall peruſe the ſaid Returns, and examine whether the Perſons ſo elected and returned be ſuch as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not diſabled to be elected: And that every Perſon and Perſons being ſo duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Perſons not diſabled, but qualified as aforeſaid, ſhall be eſteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to ſit in Parliament, and not otherwiſe.*

XXII.

XXII. *That the Perſons ſo choſen and aſſembled in Manner aforeſaid, or any ſixty of them, ſhall be, and be deemed the Parliament of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and the Supreme Legiſlative Power to be and reſide in the Lord Protector and ſuch Parliament, in Manner herein expreſs'd.* Inter-regnum 1653. December.

XXIII. *That the Lord Protector, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, ſhall at any other Time than is before expreſs'd, when the Neceſſities of the State ſhall require it, ſummon Parliaments in Manner before expreſs'd, which ſhall not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved without their own Conſent, during the firſt three Months of their Sitting. And in caſe of future War with any foreign State, a Parliament ſhall be forthwith ſummoned for their Advice concerning the ſame.*

XXIV. *That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, ſhall be preſented to the Lord Protector for his Conſent; and in caſe he ſhall not give his Conſent thereto, within twenty Days after they ſhall be preſented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited; that then, upon Declaration of the Parliament that the Lord Protector hath not conſented nor given Satisfaction, ſuch Bills ſhall paſs into, and become, Laws, although he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto; provided ſuch Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in theſe Preſents.*

XXV. *That* Henry Lawrence, *Eſq*; &c. [whoſe Names are before-mention'd at p. 247.] *or any ſeven of them, ſhall be a Council for the Purpoſes expreſs'd in this Writing; and upon the Death or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament ſhall nominate ſix Perſons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed; out of which the major Part of the Council ſhall elect two, and preſent them to the Lord Protector, of which he ſhall elect one: And in caſe the Parliament ſhall not nominate within twenty Days after Notice given unto them thereof, the major Part of the Council ſhall nominate three as aforeſaid to the Lord Protector, who out of them ſhall ſupply the Vacancy: And un-*

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till this Choice be made, the remaining Part of the Council ſhall execute as fully in all Things, as if their Number were full. And in caſe of Corruption, or other Miſcarriage in any of the Council in their Truſt, the Parliament ſhall appoint ſeven of their Number, and the Council ſix, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, ſhall have Power to hear and determine ſuch Corruption and Miſcarriage, and to award and inflict Puniſhment, as the Nature of the Offence ſhall deſerve; which Puniſhment ſhall not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector: And, in the Interval of Parliaments, the major Part of the Council, with the Conſent of the Lord Protector, may, for Corruption, or other Miſcarriage as aforeſaid, ſuſpend any of their Number from the Exerciſe of their Truſt, if they ſhall find it juſt, untill the Matter ſhall be heard and examined as aforeſaid.

XXVI. *That the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council aforeſaid may, at any Time before the Meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council ſuch Perſons as they ſhall think fit; provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed twenty-one, and the* Quorum *to be proportioned accordingly by the Lord Protector and the major Part of the Council.*

XXVII. *That a conſtant yearly Revenue ſhall be raiſed, ſettled, and eſtabliſhed for maintaining of* 10,000 *Horſe and Dragoons, and* 20,000 *Foot, in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *for the Defence and Security thereof, and alſo for a convenient Number of Ships for guarding of the Seas; beſides* 200,000l. per Ann. *for defraying the other neceſſary Charges of Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue ſhall be raiſed by the Cuſtoms, and ſuch other Ways and Means as ſhall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Council, and ſhall not be taken away or diminiſh'd, nor the Way agreed upon for raiſing the ſame altered, but by the Conſent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament.*

XXVIII.

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XXVIII. *That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the publick Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.*

XXIX. *That in case there shall not be Cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence both at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Use but by Consent of Parliament; or, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Lord Protector and major Part of the Council.*

XXX. *That the raising of Money for defraying the Charge of the present extraordinary Forces, both at Sea and Land, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by Consent of Parliament, and not otherwise: Save only that the Lord Protector, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Disorders and Dangers which might otherwise fall out both by Sea and Land, shall have Power, untill the Meeting of the first Parliament, to raise Money for the Purposes aforesaid; and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary; which shall be binding and in Force, untill Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.*

XXXI. *That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions and Hereditaments which remain yet unsold, or undisposed of, by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth, (except the Forests and Chases, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in* Ireland, *lying in the four Counties of* Dublin, Cork, Kildare, *and* Catherlaugh; *the Lands forfeited by the People of* Scotland *in the late Wars; and also the Lands of Papists and Delinquents in* England *who have not yet compounded) shall be vested in the Lord Protector, to hold, to him and his Successors Lords Protectors, of these Nations; and shall not be alienated but by Consent in Parliament. And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Par-*

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liament, shall be due to the Lord Protector, and be payable into his public Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his Name.

XXXII. *That the Office of Lord Protector over these Nations shall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the Lord Protector, another fit Person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government; which Election shall be by the Council, who, immediately upon the Death of the Lord Protector, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council; and, having given Notice to all their Members of the Cause of their assembling, shall, being thirteen at least present, proceed to the Election; and, before they depart the said Chamber, shall elect a fit Person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause Proclamation thereof to be made in all the three Nations as shall be requisite: And the Person that they, or the major Part of them, shall elect as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be, Lord Protector over these Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging. Provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be Lord Protector or other Chief Magistrate over these Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And untill the aforesaid Election be past, the Council shall take Care of the Government, and administer in all Things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.*

XXXIII. *That* Oliver Cromwell, *Captain-General of the Forces of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his Life.*

XXXIV. *That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of* Ireland *and* Scotland, *and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major*

major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament. Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

XXXV. *That the Chriſtian Religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profeſſion of theſe Nations; and that, as ſoon as may be, a Proviſion, leſs ſubject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the preſent, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers, for inſtructing the People, and for Diſcovery and Confutation of Error, Hereſy, and whatever is contrary to ſound Doctrine: And that untill ſuch Proviſion be made, the preſent Maintenance ſhall not be taken away nor impeached.*

XXXVI. *That to the public Profeſſion held forth none ſhall be compelled by Penalties or otherwiſe; but that Endeavours be uſed to win them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation.*

XXXVII. *That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by* Jeſus Chriſt, *(though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline publickly held forth) ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in, the Profeſſion of the Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion; ſo as they abuſe not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, and to the actual Diſturbance of the Public Peace on their Parts: Provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery nor Prelacy, nor to ſuch as, under the Profeſſion of* Chriſt, *hold forth and practiſe Licentiouſneſs.*

XXXVIII. *That all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, and Clauſes in any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary of the aforeſaid Liberty, ſhall be eſteemed as null and void.*

XXXIX. *That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, &c. Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Foreſt Lands, or any of them, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, ſhall nowiſe be impeach'd or made invalid, but ſhall remain good and firm; and that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Par-*

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liament for any Sum or Sums of Money, by any of the ſaid Lands, the Exciſe, or by any other public Revenue; and alſo the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, ſhall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatſoever.

XL. *That the Articles given to, or made with, the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, ſhall be performed and made good to the Perſons concerned therein: And that ſuch Appeals as were depending in the laſt Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Eſtates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwiſe, to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

XLI. *That every ſucceſſive Lord Protector over theſe Nations ſhall take and ſubſcribe a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of the Council, and ſuch others as they ſhall call to them, that he will ſeek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of theſe Nations, cauſe Law and Juſtice to be equally adminiſter'd; and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and, in all other Things, will, to his Power, and to the beſt of his Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof.*

XLII. *That each Perſon of the Council ſhall, before they enter upon their Truſt, take and ſubſcribe an Oath, that they will be true and faithful in their Truſt, according to the beſt of their Knowledge; and that in the Election of every ſucceſſive Lord Protector, they ſhall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promiſe, Fear, Favour, or Reward.*

After reading the foregoing Inſtrument of Government, the Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle* preſented the Form of an Oath, engroſſed on Parchment, to be taken by the Lord Protector: During the reading of which his Excellency held up his Right Hand, and lifted up his Eyes to Heaven with great Solemnity and Devotion, and then ſubſcribed the ſame

ſame in the Face of the Court; which Oath was as follows: Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

'WHereas the major Part of the laſt Parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame; and, by a Writing under their Hands, dated the 12th Day of this inſtant *December*, reſigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy Courſe ſhould be taken for the Settlement of theſe Nations upon ſuch a Baſis and Foundation as, by the Bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure Property, and anſwer thoſe great Ends of Religion and Liberty ſo long contended for: And, upon full and mature Conſideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, thro' the Divine Aſſiſtance, may anſwer the Ends aforementioned; and having alſo been deſired, and adviſed, as well by ſeveral Perſons of Intereſt and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of theſe Nations in the Manner expreſs'd in the ſaid Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly; and I do promiſe, in the Preſence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained therein; but, to my Power, obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall, in all other Things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof; ſeeking their Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſter'd.' Which he ſwears to obſerve.

O. CROMWELL.

To this Oath was ſubjoined the following *Memorandum:*

Oliver Cromwell, *Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared Lord*

Inter-regnum. 1653. December. *Lord Protector thereof, did, this 16th Day of* December, 1653, *ſign this Writing, and ſolemnly promiſe, as is therein contained, in Preſence of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of* England, *who adminiſtered the ſame Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of* London, *divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Perſons of Quality.*

After the Lord Protector had taken the foregoing Oath, Major-General *Lambert*, kneeling, preſented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, repreſenting the Civil Sword, which his Excellency accepting put off his own; thereby to intimate that he would no longer rule by the Military one. Then the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and Officers of the Army, invited him to take Poſſeſſion of the Chair of State, as Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, which he did; and ſat down with his Head covered, having a Gold Hatband about his Hat, the Court continuing all bare. Then the Lords Commiſſioners delivered up to him the Purſe and Seals, and the Lord Mayor of *London* his Sword, which were preſently deliver'd to them back again by his Highneſs, with an Exhortation to uſe them well; and then, after a Salute, the Court roſe, and the Proceſſion returned in the following Manner:

Firſt came the Aldermen and the Members of the Council, from the Court of Chancery to *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate; next after them the Judges; then came the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, one of them bearing the Purſe and Seals: Theſe were followed by the Life-Guard, and four Serjeants at Arms carrying the Maces belonging to the City of *London*, the Court of Chancery, the Council, and the Parliament. The Lord Mayor went next before his Highneſs with the Sword, and the Officers of the Army about his Perſon, to the Hall-Gate, where they took Coach, and returned to *Whitehall*; the Lord Mayor riding bare-headed, and carrying the Sword in the Boot

of

of the Coach with the Lord Protector, amidſt the great Acclamations and Shoutings of the People all along the Streets as they paſſed. Inter-regnum. 1653. December.

His Highneſs with his Attendants being returned to the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, they had an Exhortation made to them there by Mr. *Lockier*, Chaplain to his Highneſs; which being ended, the Company were diſmiſſed with three Vollies of Shot by the Soldiery, between Four and Five at Night.

The new Protector being thus fully eſtabliſhed in his Sovereignty, took upon him great State; and had all the Ceremonies and Reſpect paid to him, by all Sorts of Men, that was ever done to a Crowned Head. On the 19th of this Month he was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, in the *Palace-Yard Weſtminſter*, at the *Old Exchange*, and ſeveral other Places in *London*; divers of the Council of State, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Robes, the Serjeants at Arms, and the Heralds, attending. The ſame was done afterwards through every City and County in *England*.

The firſt Act of State the Protector did, was publiſhing a Proclamation on the 21ſt, for all Perſons to continue in their Offices till his Highneſs's further Pleaſure. Next he and his Council took upon them to paſs ſeveral Ordinances, which were to be equal in Force with former Acts till the Meeting of a Parliament. Ordinances paſſed by the Lord Protector and his Council.

The moſt material of thoſe paſſed this Month were, For Continuance of the Exciſe: For changing the Words *The Keepers of the Liberty of* England *by Authority of Parliament*, into thoſe of, *The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging*, in all Courts of Law, Juſtice, or Equity, and in all Writs, Grants, Patents, Commiſſions, Indictments, *&c.* Alſo for the Probate of Wills and granting of Adminiſtrations.

This Month concluded with a ſolemn Day of Humiliation, to ſeek the Lord for a Bleſſing upon the new Government.

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Inter-regnum. 1653. January.

January. The first Thing we find done this Month, was an Order for printing and publishing the Instrument of Government, together with the Form of the Oath the Protector had publickly taken, for the View of all Persons.

Next, as the Custom ever had been, and perhaps ever will be, to court the Rising Sun, Addresses were presented to the new Lord Protector, acknowledging the Necessity of his Office, with the just Foundation of his Government, and promising all dutiful Obedience thereto: Of these we shall give a Specimen.

The Officers of the Army had sufficiently shewn their Attachment to the new Plan of Power, by the Share they had in the Contrivance of it: The City of *London*, and the Sages of the Law, by the Part they acted at the Protector's Inauguration: And the Fleet were no less forward to testify their Allegiance to their new Sovereign, as appears by the following Address:

To his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR *of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland,

The DECLARATION *with the* HUMBLE ADDRESS *of the Generals and the several Commanders of the Fleet, by them severally subscribed,*

Humbly sheweth,

An Address to him from the Fleet.

'THAT these Nations of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, have been for some Years like the Bush which burned, but is not consumed: And tho' the Nations round about us stand gazing on to see us made a Desolation, as well as a Hissing unto them; yet we are hitherto, by the mighty Power of the Lord, and his wonderful Outgoings amongst us, made rather an Astonishment in our Preservation, than a Reproach by our Ruin and Devastation.

'In which great Work of the Lord we acknowledge, with Thankfulness, your Highness hath been a glorious Instrument; and hath undergone many

'many Hardſhips and Hazard of all that was near and dear unto you, even to Life itſelf; and underſtanding that, by Providence, your Highneſs is intruſted with, and hath accepted of, the Protection of this Commonwealth in the Government thereof: Inter-regnum. 1653. January.

'We are in Hopes that the Lord intends a Settlement of Peace to theſe poor diſtracted Nations; and that ourſelves, with all the People of the Lord, ſhall enjoy and partake of the ſame under your Highneſs's Protection, according to the Rule of the Lord *Jeſus*; and therefore we have thought it neceſſary, and a Duty incumbent on us, to declare that we ſhall willingly be obedient and faithful to your Highneſs, in performance of your great Truſt; and alſo in the utmoſt Hazard of our Lives, with what elſe is near and dear unto us, be ſerviceable unto you, in the Station the Lord hath placed you, againſt yours and the Commonwealth's Enemies, in our ſeveral Places and Capacities during our Employments.

'And having had good Teſtimony of your great Affection and yearning Bowels after the Weal of God's People, we are embolden'd and encouraged, in all Humility, to make this following Addreſs:

'That your Highneſs will be pleaſed to have a more ſpecial Eye of Favour unto them above all others, in regard they are near and dear unto him who is the Lord of Lords and King of Kings, even our Lord *Jeſus*, for which Cauſe he is not aſhamed to call them Brethren; and we do humbly apprehend that their Privileges will be your Privilege; and to account of them as of your greateſt Jewels, will doubtleſs turn to your great Advantage: And hereby you will, for Time to come, not only engage their Hearts unto you, who, in Times paſt, have not ſtood at a Diſtance from you, but your Highneſs will alſo engage the Lord *Jehovah*, your and their Father, to be a Refuge, Shield and Defence unto you, as well as

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'an everlaſting Reſt for you, when all the Storms 'of this Commonwealth ſhall ceaſe; which is, and 'ſhall be, the unfeign'd Prayers of

Your Highneſs's moſt humble

And faithful Servants.

His Advancement to the Protectorate recognized by Foreign Courts.

Thus far it appears that our new Lord Protector was recognized by the City of *London*, by the Judges of the Land, by the Army and the Fleet; nor was his Highneſs leſs reſpected by foreign Princes and States. It has been already obſerv'd [g] that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, Don *Alonſo de Cardenas*, was the firſt public Miniſter that acknowledged the Commonwealth after the Death of the late King, and he was alſo the firſt that made his Court to the Lord Protector. When this Miniſter was introduced to an Audience of his Highneſs, he not only congratulated his Acceſſion to the Government, expreſſed the great Satisfaction his Maſter had therein, and aſſured him of the true and conſtant Friendſhip of *Spain* in the Condition he then ſtood; but alſo declared, if the Lord Protector would take the Crown of *England* upon him, his Catholic Majeſty would venture his own in Defence of ſuch an Attempt, with many other Expreſſions of Reſpect and Good-will: But to all theſe Profeſſions the Protector was wiſe enough to return no more than a civil and general Anſwer, declaring his grateful Reſentment of ſo generous an Offer; and his Readineſs to conſult with his Excellency upon the beſt Means to continue and improve the Friendſhip between the two States [h].

The next foreign Miniſter was that of *Portugal*: He was ſoon afterwards followed by *France*, and the other Princes and States of *Europe*, who vyed with

[g] In our 19th Volume, p. 88.

[h] See Mr. *Thurloe*'s Account of the Negotiations between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, from the Time of *Oliver Cromwell*'s aſſuming the Government to the Reſtoration, in the firſt Volume of his *State Papers*, p. 759.

with each other which ſhould have the greateſt Share in the Favour of the new Governor of *England*, whoſe Authority now ſeem'd to be ſettled upon an unalterable Foundation. Inter-regnum. 1653. January.

The late Convention had ordered in a Bill for redreſſing the Abuſe of pleading a Refuſal to take the Engagement to be true to a Commonwealth Government, in Bar of Suits in Courts of Law and Equity: But the Protector and his Council (partly, perhaps, to ingratiate himſelf with the Friends of Monarchy, or rather to pave the Way for his own Government of the Nation as a King, though under another Title) made an Ordinance for entirely annulling that paſs'd by the Long Parliament, in *January*, 1649, for taking the Engagement. The Preamble to this Act of Repeal, which is too remarkable to be omitted, was expreſs'd in the following Terms:

The Engagement repealed.

'Whereas many general and promiſſory Oaths 'and Engagements, in former Times impoſed up- 'on the People of this Nation, have proved Bur- 'dens and Snares to tender Conſciences; and yet 'have been exacted under ſeveral Penalties, For- 'feitures, and Loſſes: Upon Conſideration there- 'of, and out of a Tenderneſs of requiring ſuch 'Obligations, be it ordained, *&c.*'

An Ordinance, declaring what Offences ſhall be deemed High Treaſon.

Another Ordinance, well worth our Notice, was alſo paſs'd, declaring what Offences ſhould be adjudg'd High Treaſon againſt the new Government. Hereby it was enacted, 'That if any Perſon ſhould compaſs or imagine the Death of the Lord Protector; or maliciouſly or adviſedly, by writing, printing, openly declaring, preaching, teaching, or otherwiſe publiſh, that the Lord Protector and the People in Parliament aſſembled are not the Supreme Authority of this Commonwealth; or that the Exerciſe of the Chief Magiſtracy and Adminiſtration of the Government, is not in the Lord Protector aſſiſted with a Council; or that the ſaid Government is tyrannical, uſurped, or unlawful; or that there is any Parliament now in being, or that hath any Con-

Inter-regnum. 1653. January.

Continuance; or any Law in Force for continuing the Parliament, which is hereby declared to have been abſolutely diſſolved on the 20th of *April*, 1653; or ſhould plot or endeavour to raiſe Force againſt the Protector or the preſent Government, or for the Subverſion or Alteration of the ſame, and ſhould declare ſuch Endeavour by any open Deed: Every ſuch Offence ſhould be adjudged High Treaſon.

'If any Perſon (not being an Officer, Soldier, or Member of the Army) ſhould plot or endeavour to ſtir up Mutiny therein; or to withdraw any Soldiers or Officers from their Obedience to their ſuperior Officers, or from the preſent Government; or procure, invite, or aſſiſt any Foreigners to invade *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, &c. or adhere to any Forces raiſed by the Enemies of this Commonwealth; or plot or endeavour the betraying or ſurrendering of any City, Town, Fort, Magazine, Ship, Veſſel, or Forces by Sea or Land belonging to this Commonwealth; or counterfeit the Great Seal of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or the Sign Manual or Privy Seal of the Lord Protector; or ſhould proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any Way promote, *Charles Stuart*, *James Stuart*, or any of the Poſterity of the late King, or any Perſon claiming under him, or either of them, to be King of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; or hold any Intelligence with the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, *James Stuart*, the late Queen their Mother, or any of them; or counterfeit the Money of this Commonwealth, or import falſe Money in Imitation thereof, knowing the ſame to be ſo; or counterfeit any foreign Coin current in this Commonwealth, or import any ſuch, knowing it to be falſe; or diminiſh the Money of this Commonwealth, or the Coin of any other Country current therein: All ſuch Offences were declared High Treaſon; but not to create any Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture of Dower.'

It was alſo ordain'd, 'That no Offence whatſoever ſhould be thereafter deem'd High Treaſon, except thoſe above-recited; and all Proſecutions to be commenced within one Year after the Commiſſion

miſſion of each Offence. But it was provided that all the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts, made in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, ſhould ſtill continue in Force.' Inter-regnum. 1653. February.

February. This Month began with an Act of Feſtivity. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* having invited the Lord Protector and his Council to dine with them at *Grocers-Hall*: On the 8th, being *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and the Day appointed for that Purpoſe, his Highneſs, attended by his Council and the principal Officers of the Army, with his own Life-Guard and many Perſons of Quality, came in great State to *Temple-Bar*, about Noon; where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited for him. The Lord Mayor, advancing up to the Lord Protector's Coach of State, preſented to him the City Sword; which his Highneſs having inſtantly returned, the Recorder, Mr. *Steele*, made him the Complements of the City in the following Speech[h]: The Lord Protector dines with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, my Lord Protector, The Recorder's congratulatory Speech to him in the Name of that City.

'IT hath been obſerved by ſome, that when *Samuel* offered Sacrifice, he therefore reſerved the Shoulders for *Saul*, that he might know what was the Weight of Government; the Conſideration of which made *Maximilian* affirm, That none who knew how heavy Diadems were, would ſtoop to take them up. Governors are like the heavenly Bodies, much in Veneration, but never at Reſt; and how can it otherwiſe be expected, when they are not made for themſelves, or their own Glory, but for the Safety and Good of Mankind? As in the Natural, ſo in the Civil World, great Things are ordained to ſerve the leſs. We ſee the Sun, by its Beams, ſerving the Eye of the meaneſt Fly, as well as of the greateſt Potentate: The Supremacy of *Salus*

[h] From the original Edition, printed for *Matthew Wallbancke*, at *Grey's Inn Gate*. This Speech, with the Form of the whole Ceremonial of the City's Entertainment, was alſo publiſhed in *French* by *W. Du Gard*, one of the Printers to the Lord Protector, for the Information of Foreign Courts.

Inter-regnum. 1653. February.

Salus Populi was the Concluſion of the twelve Tables, and will be a prevalent Maxim untill the End of the World.

'By thus much, my Lord, you may perceive the dark Side of this leading Cloud of Government; but if God vouchſafe Aſſiſtance to thoſe Shoulders upon which the Government is laid, and puts under his everlaſting Arms, you will ſee the bright Side alſo, and thence receive Encouragement: This Support he is pleaſed to give, by letting Rulers know he is the Author of their Power, and that from him they are to expect their Rule.

'The Deſignation of Government, as to Forms and Perſons, is an human Inſtitution, and mutable, as Things that are made; but Government itſelf, abſtractively conſidered in its pure Original, is of a divine Offspring; and can with no leſs Difficulty be ſhaken, than thoſe *Veſtigia*, which being, as Relations tell us, upon the Tops of ſome Mountains above the Clouds, can be diſordered by Wind and Tempeſt: And for the Rule, the Word or Reaſon of God in the divine Underſtanding is the eternal Law of all Things; but this being too deep a Well for Man's Bucket to draw out of, it pleaſed his infinite Goodneſs to let fall a Rivulet from this Source into the Creature, which leaving an Impreſſion in Man's Underſtanding, we call the Law of Nature; but Man, having this Honour, preſently became of no Underſtanding; his Mind being clouded with Paſſions and Sins, had ſoon need of ſuperadded Helps, which God gave him by thoſe other Laws fit for Government; and ſtill gives a Spirit for the framing ſuch municipal Laws as are according to his Will, and ſuitable to the Good of the People: But when this was done, the beſt Laws, without a Government, were no other than as the Sword behind the Ephod; and therefore *Moſes* in his Time, and other Governors in their Time, muſt be as walking Laws and Adminiſtrators of Juſtice. We may conclude, my Lord, that your Highneſs hath experimented both theſe Encouragements, as being the Spectator of ſome, and

and the Subject of other great Revolutions which have happened in this Age and Land of Wonders; and not only know that the Moſt High rules in the Kingdoms of Men, diſpoſing them to whom he pleaſeth, but alſo that it is not ſufficient, with the Princes of the Nations, to exerciſe Dominion over Man, the common Image of God, except there be alſo a Share in the peculiar Image of his Righteouſneſs and Holineſs; they being God's indeed, and after a peculiar Manner, to whom the Reaſon or Word of God ſo comes. Inter-regnum. 1653. February.

'My Lord, there is one Help more in Government, which God is pleaſed often to add to the reſt, which is the giving in of the Affections of the People. The Solemnity of this Day, wherein the Citizens of this great City appear in their ſeveral Companies, as ſo many Cities within the City, ſpeaks much to this; they leave it to other Nations to ſalute their Rulers and victorious Commanders with the Names of *Cæſares* and *Imperatores*; and, after Triumphs, to erect for them their *Arcus Triumphales*; but, if I miſtake not, their End, this Day, is not any ſuch outward Pomp or Glory; but that thoſe who have been delivered together might rejoice together; and to expreſs their Deſires that the Civil Sword might be as proſperous for Public Ends, in the Hand where it is placed, as the Military Sword hath been in the ſame Hand.

'This City ſeldom goes alone in public Actions; it was antiently called, by *Stephanides*, the Heart of the Nation; and if the Heart be in a politic Conſideration as it is in the natural, it will communicate Life and Spirits into the other Members; by which Means the whole Body may unanimouſly contribute their Deſires and Endeavours to oppoſe the common Enemy; and, after all our Diſtractions, ſee the Nation eſtabliſhed upon the firm Baſis of Peace and Righteouſneſs, which is the End of Government, and ſhall be the End of my further troubling your Highneſs.'

Inter-regnum. 1653. February.

Salus Populi was the Concluſion of the twelve Tables, and will be a prevalent Maxim untill the End of the World.

'By thus much, my Lord, you may perceive the dark Side of this leading Cloud of Government; but if God vouchſafe Aſſiſtance to thoſe Shoulders upon which the Government is laid, and puts under his everlaſting Arms, you will ſee the bright Side alſo, and thence receive Encouragement: This Support he is pleaſed to give, by letting Rulers know he is the Author of their Power, and that from him they are to expect their Rule.

'The Deſignation of Government, as to Forms and Perſons, is an human Inſtitution, and mutable, as Things that are made; but Government itſelf, abſtractively conſidered in its pure Original, is of a divine Offspring; and can with no leſs Difficulty be ſhaken, than thoſe *Veſtigia*, which being, as Relations tell us, upon the Tops of ſome Mountains above the Clouds, can be diſordered by Wind and Tempeſt: And for the Rule, the Word or Reaſon of God in the divine Underſtanding is the eternal Law of all Things; but this being too deep a Well for Man's Bucket to draw out of, it pleaſed his infinite Goodneſs to let fall a Rivulet from this Source into the Creature, which leaving an Impreſſion in Man's Underſtanding, we call the Law of Nature; but Man, having this Honour, preſently became of no Underſtanding; his Mind being clouded with Paſſions and Sins, had ſoon need of ſuperadded Helps, which God gave him by thoſe other Laws fit for Government; and ſtill gives a Spirit for the framing ſuch municipal Laws as are according to his Will, and ſuitable to the Good of the People: But when this was done, the beſt Laws, without a Government, were no other than as the Sword behind the Ephod; and therefore *Moſes* in his Time, and other Governors in their Time, muſt be as walking Laws and Adminiſtrators of Juſtice. We may conclude, my Lord, that your Highneſs hath experimented both theſe Encouragements, as being the Spectator of ſome, and

Inter-regnum. 1663. February.

To this learned Harangue the Lord Protector returned for Answer, 'That he was greatly obliged to the City of *London* for this and all former Testimonies of Respect.' And then, mounting his Horse of State, rode in a Kind of Triumph thro' the principal Streets; the several Companies, in their Livery Gowns, being placed on each Side thereof, in Scaffolds erected for that Purpose, and the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare-headed before him to *Grocers-Hall*, where a most magnificent Entertainment was provided. After Dinner his Highness knighted the Lord Mayor [a], and made him a present of his own Sword from his Side, which was the first Instance of the Protector's assuming this Piece of Regal Grandeur. The Bells rang all the Day; the Tower Guns were fired at his Highness's taking Leave of the City; and about Seven in the Evening, he and his Attendants returned back to *Whitehall* in their Coaches.

The Lord Protector appoints several Judges.

About this Time the Lord Protector renewed the Patents of the Commissioners for the Great Seal, and of seven of the Judges, viz. *Rolle* and *Aske*, of the Upper Bench; *St. John*, *Atkins*, and *Hale*, of the Common Pleas; *Thorpe* and *Nicholas*, of the Exchequer: The Lawyers *Maynard*, *Popys*, *Wyndham*, *Newdigate*, and *Twisden*, were called to the Degree of Serjeants, in order to their filling up the vacant Seats in *Westminster-Hall*. The Mention of these Names, many of whom were appointed Judges after the King's Restoration, verifies what has been said of *Cromwell*, That his first Care was to fill the Courts of Justice with the most eminent Men of the Bar.

The *Lent* Assizes were now approaching: These publick Meetings gave Occasion to the several Counties and Cities of *England* to compliment the Protector on his Advancement to that Dignity.—— In *Cromwell*'s Speech to his second Parliament, he appeals to the Addresses from the County and City of

[a] Alderman *Thomas Pyner*.

of *York*, as Evidences of the public Approbation of his taking the Protectorate upon him; we shall therefore select these two out of the many Congratulations presented on that Subject. And first that from the County. Inter-regnum. 1653. March.

To his Highness OLIVER CROMWELL, *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

The HUMBLE PETITION *and* REPRESENTATION *of the* GRAND JURY, *at the Assizes held at* York, March 165$\frac{3}{4}$, *in behalf of themselves and of the Nobility, Justices, Gentry, and Freeholders, with the other Inhabitants of the County of York*[a].

'WHereas it hath seemed good unto the Almighty and Wise Disposer of all Things, by many great and admirable Steps of Providence, to advance your Highness to the present and peaceable Administration of the Government of this Nation; in which we trust that all Friends to true Religion and public Liberties shall have Cause to rejoice: We, your Petitioners, do humbly and chearfully testify our Thankfulness to your Highness for your great Care in preserving us from those Evils of Tyranny and Confusion, which we have very lately experienced ourselves in imminent Danger of; as also our Satisfaction and Acquiescence in the Government now established, which we shall, in our Places and Stations, be ready, with all Faithfulness, to preserve and maintain. An Address of Congratulation to him, from the County of *York*, at the *Lent* Assizes,

'Further representing and desiring, That Countenance may be given to godly and able Ministers of the Gospel, such as have or shall give Testimony of their good Affection to the State, as it

[a] From *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 199. It is also in Mr. *Nicholls's Collection of Letters and State Papers*, p. 205; in which the Reader, who is not satisfied with this Specimen, may find a Number of Addresses to *Cromwell*, sufficient to gratify his Curiosity.

Inter-regnum. 1653. March.

'is now conſtituted; and that, for their Encou-
'ragement, ſome timely Proviſion may be made
'for a competent and comfortable Subſiſtence;
'and that they may be vindicated from Oppreſſion
'and Affronts ariſing from Principles of Profane-
'neſs and Superſtition, or other more ſpecious
'Pretexts, alike dangerous to the Propagation of
'the Goſpel, and in Oppoſition to Government:
'That ſcandalous Miniſters may be removed:
'That former Superſtitions and Corruptions,
'ſtill tenaciouſly retained by many, to the Hurt of
'ignorant Perſons, and Prejudice of ſuch Miniſters
'as deſire to be faithful, may be reformed; and
'that thoſe Diſorders and Diſtractions, which daily
'break out in Matters of Religion, may be recti-
'fied: And that the Augmentations to Miniſters,
'already made, may be more equally and impar-
'tially diſtributed.

'And for all theſe Ends, that ſome faithful and
'godly Men may be empowered in this County,
'ſo as we may not be neceſſitated, upon every Oc-
'caſion, to repair to *London*, where many neceſ-
'ſary Things are not proſecuted by reaſon of the
'Tediouſneſs and great Expence of ſuch Journies.

'That Courts of Judicature may be ſettled in
'this great County, (it having been under Conſi-
'deration, and great Progreſs formerly made there-
'in in Parliament, on the Petition of the People in
'theſe Parts) for the preventing of exceſſive Ex-
'pences and other Inconveniences in Law-Suits,
'occaſioned by the Remoteneſs of this County
'from the City of *London*.

'That ſome Way may, with all Conveniency,
'be directed and ſettled for Probate of Wills with-
'in this County: And that theſe Courts may be
'without unneceſſary Appeals to *London*."

Sign'd by George Payler, *Eſq*; *Foreman; and the reſt of the Grand Jury, Juſtices*, &c.

It does not appear by whom this Addreſs of the County of *York* was tranſmitted to the Lord Protector: But the following from the City was preſented

ſented to him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* [c] their Recorder, and Alderman *Dickinſon*. Inter-regnum. 1653. March.

To his Highneſs OLIVER *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging*,

The RECOGNITION *of the* MAYOR, ALDERMEN, *and* COMMONALTY *of the antient City of* York.

'WHEREAS it hath pleaſed the Lord to run to and fro through the Earth, to 'ſhew himſelf ſtrong on the Behalf of them whoſe 'Hearts are perfect toward him; to make bare 'his Arm, and bring Salvation to a Nation not 'worthy to be beloved, and to break many Yokes 'from off our Necks; in accompliſhment whereof, 'though human Power and Might have been 'made Uſe of, yet Things have been ſo ordered 'and over-ruled by the Spirit in the Midſt of the 'Wheels, that we may juſtly ſay, *we are not ſaved 'by Bow or by Sword, but by the Lord our God:* 'And therefore, in the firſt Place, we look upon 'it as our Duty to acknowledge Salvation and 'Bleſſing to him that ſits upon the Throne of 'Heaven judging right, who hath done whatſoever 'it pleaſeth him in Heaven and in Earth, and in 'all deep Places. And another from the City.

'Yet when we alſo conſider how it hath ſeem-'ed good in the Eyes of God to ſingle out your 'Highneſs as the *Man of his Right Hand whom 'he has made ſtrong for himſelf*; and, through 'your Vigilancy, Courage, and Conſtancy, to do 'great and wonderful Things in the Midſt of us; 'in delivering us from imminent and preſſing Dan-'gers on the Right Hand and on the Left: While 'we bleſs the Lord that our Heart is alſo to the 'Governors of *Iſrael*, who have jeoparded their 'Lives in the high Places of the Field, and are 'daily going on to ſecond their valiant Acts by

[c] He was ſoon after made a Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, in the room of Serjeant *Keeble*; and Mr. *Dickinſon* was knighted by the Protector.

Inter-regnum. 1653. March.

'prudent Counſels, if we may enjoy the End of 'every juſt War, which is a ſafe and honourable 'Peace: Unto your Highneſs, therefore, as once 'the People of *Iſrael* to their Ruler, we humbly 'and heartily ſay, *Peace be to thee, and Peace be to 'thine Helpers.*

'If we ſhould promiſe to ourſelves too much 'concerning your Highneſs, or any of the Sons of 'Men, eſpecially in this Day, wherein the Lord 'hath ſo much rejected our Confidences, and pro-'claimed to us, by the Voice of manifold Provi-'dences, *Ceaſe from Man whoſe Breath is in his 'Noſtrils*, we ſhould not only intrench upon the 'Honour of God and our own Peace, but be in-'jurious to your Highneſs; who are better able to 'bear the Burden of much Trouble than a little 'of that Truſt which we owe to him alone, in 'whom there is everlaſting Strength, who turns 'every Staff into a Reed when it is reſted upon: 'Yet we cannot but declare our great Hopes, that 'the Lord will ſtill delight to uſe your Highneſs as 'a bleſſed Inſtrument of much Honour to his Great 'Name, and Happineſs to this Commonwealth; 'That as he hath help'd you to build the Walls of '*Jeruſalem*, the Defence and Safety of his People 'even in troublous Times, ſo he will alſo engage 'your Heart, and enable your Hands, according to 'your eminent Station, to further the ſpiritual 'Work and Welfare of his Church and Temple, 'which waits for a Seaſon of more Tranquility.

'We add only the Declaration of our Satisfac-'tion in the preſent Government adminiſter'd by 'your Highneſs, and our chearful Submiſſion un-'to it, which we ſhall be ready to ſecond with our 'Prayers and Endeavours for your Highneſs's Pro-'ſperity, and the People of God who ſit under your 'Shadow; humbly begging your favourable Aſpect 'and Influence upon the Honour and Privileges of 'this antient City, whoſe Strength is much decay'd, 'though their Burdens be increas'd, which yet 'they are more willing, though unable, to under-'go, till a juſt and ſeaſonable Remedy be procur'd.

Our

'Our Lot is fallen ſomething remote from the great Scene of public Affairs, which hath been prejudicial to us; but we truſt, though we enjoy not ſo much Warmth of the Sun as the *Southern* Parts, yet the Beams of your Highneſs's Goodneſs and Juſtice, whom God hath ſet up in the Midſt of us, ſhall comfortably reach this Place; which, though in many outward Advantages, it may come behind others, yet will ſtrive to an Equality with the beſt, in their Affection and Faithfulneſs to your Highneſs and this Commonwealth.

Inter-regnum. 1655. March.

Sign'd by the Mayor, in the Name and by the Appointment of the Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of York,

JOHN GELDART, *Mayor.*

On the 20th of this Month a Declaration was iſſued out by the Lord Protector, inviting the People of *England* and *Wales* to a Day of ſolemn Faſting and Humiliation, which was expreſs'd in the following remarkable Terms;

A Declaration for the Obſervance of a Faſt-Day.

'THE common and notorious Sins ſo boldly and impenitently practiſed amongſt us, notwithſtanding all our Deliverances and Mercies, together with the preſent Rod of an exceeding and univerſal Drought, which hath lain upon us for ſome Years, and ſtill continues and increaſes upon us, threatening Famine and Mortality, are no leſs than the Voice of God, calling aloud in our Ears to Faſting, and Mourning, and great Abaſement of Soul before him.

'And although the general End and Intendment of inviting to a Day of Faſt be, that all, of every Condition and Quality whatever, do try and examine their Heart and Way more eſpecially, according to their own Light, and in the Uſe of ſuch Helps and Means as the Lord, in his Providence, ſhall afford to each one, before and upon the ſaid Day of meeting; yet finding ſome Thoughts ſet ſeriouſly upon our Heart, we judg'd it not amiſs to recommend the ſame to Chriſtian

'Con-

Inter-regnum. 1653. March.

'Conſideration, not to impoſe them upon any, or 'to confine any within the Compaſs thereof; but 'leaving every Man free to the Grace of God, and 'to the Work of his Spirit, who worketh all 'Things in the Hearts of the Sons of Men, accord-'ing to the Counſel and good Pleaſure of his own 'Will.

'It cannot be denied, but that God hath vouch-'ſafed to appear much in working the Deliverance 'of this Nation from their Bondage and Thral-'dom, both Spiritual and Civil, and procuring for 'them a juſt Liberty by his own People.

'Do we now walk worthy of our high Calling, 'in Humbleneſs and Lowlineſs of Mind, holding 'forth the Virtues of *Chriſt* in Time of Peace, 'which was our Strength by the Efficacy of which 'all our great Things were accompliſhed in Time 'of War?

'Have we a Heart prepared as willingly to com-'municate the ſaid juſt Freedom and Liberty to 'one another, as we were induſtrious to get it?

'Do we thankfully acknowledge our Mercy in 'the Liberty of worſhipping God in Holineſs and 'Righteouſneſs without Fear, being delivered out 'of the Hands of our Enemies?

'Is brotherly Love, and a healing Spirit, of that 'Force and Value amongſt us that it ought?

'Do we own one another more for the Grace 'of God, and for the Spiritual Regeneration, and 'for the Image of *Chriſt* in each other, or for our 'Agreement with each other in this or that Form 'or Opinion.

'Do we firſt ſearch for the Kingdom of *Chriſt* 'within us, before we ſeek one without us? Or 'do we liſten to them that ſay concerning the Co-'ming of *Chriſt*, *Lo here, and lo there?*

'Do we not more contend for Saints having 'Rule in the World, than over their own Hearts?

'Are there not too many amongſt us that cry 'up the Spirit with a Neglect of Love, Joy, Peace, 'Meekneſs, Patience, Goodneſs, Temperance, 'Long-ſuffering, Forbearance, Brotherly-kind-neſs,

'ness, and Charity, which are the Fruits of the Spirit?

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'How do we carry ourselves, not only to the Churches of God, and the Saints, but towards them that are without?

'Do not some of us affirm ourselves to be the only true Ministry, and true Churches of *Christ*, and ourselves only to have the Ordinances in Purity; excluding our Brethren, tho' of equal Gifts, and having as large a Seal of their Ministry, and desiring with as much Fervor and Zeal to enjoy the Ordinances in their utmost Purity?

'Do we remember old Puritan, or rather primitive, Simplicity, Self-denial, Mercy to the Poor, Uprightness, and Justice? Or are we not herein put to Shame by those we easily call Anti-Christian or Carnal?

'Hath not one that we judge to be without, equal Justice with one we will call a Brother?

'Do we contend for the Faith once delivered unto the Saints, as the Things of Faith ought to be contended for, with Love, Patience, Tenderness, Zeal, by Persuasion? Or rather imposingly, proudly, carnally, provokingly, sensually, thereby prejudicing the Truth: And whilst we are calling aloud for the Propagation of the Gospel, do we not put Stumbling-Blocks in the Way of the same, and too much endeavour to make good the Slander of the World, in charging Profession with Faction?

'For want of Circumspection and Care herein, and a due Regard to Sincerity and Uprightness, have not many apostatized, running after Fancies and Notions, listening to filthy Dreams, worshipping of Angels, and been carried away by their Impulsions; and instead of contending for the Faith, and holding the Form of sound Words, contended against Magistracy, against Ministry, against Scriptures, and against Ordinances; too

'much

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'much verifying the Prophecies of *Peter* and *Jude*, 'in the following Words.

[*Here follows a Quotation from the second Epiſtle of St.* Peter, *Chap.* ii. *Ver.* 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15; *and the Epiſtle of St.* Jude, *Ver.* 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19: *And then the Declaration proceeds thus:*]

'Notwithſtanding all theſe Evils, and worſe, are 'upon us, and in the Midſt of us, like grey Hairs, 'here and there, and we *know it not, our Pride 'teſtifying to our Face*, Hoſea vii. 9, 10. and we re-'turn not to the Lord our God, nor ſeek him for 'all this, but theſe Things are contended for, and 'juſtified under the Notion of Liberty; it being 'too commonly ſaid that the Magiſtrate hath no-'thing to do either in repreſſing or remedying theſe 'Things: We do hereby appeal to the Hearts and 'Conſciences of all fearing the Lord, whether 'there be not as great Cauſe as ever to lay our 'Mouths in the Duſt, and abhor ourſelves before 'the Lord for theſe Abominations, whereby the 'Eyes of his Jealouſy are provoked, and to ſeek 'Pardon and Remedy from himſelf of theſe Things.

'Add we to theſe, the Reſiſtance, Hatred, and 'Neglect of the Goſpel by the Generality of Men, 'the Contempt and Deſpight done to the ſincere 'Profeſſors of it, even for the Image of *Chriſt* in 'them (although they have been Inſtruments of 'many Mercies, and of the obtaining a juſt Free-'dom for the Nation); the Wickedneſs, Oaths, 'Drunkenneſs, Revellings, and all Manner of Li-'centiouſneſs, for which Things Sake the Scriptures 'have ſaid, *That the Wrath of God ſhall undoubted-'ly overtake the Children of Diſobedience.* And 'laſtly, the Impunity of theſe Things, through the 'Neglect of the Magiſtracy throughout the Na-'tion; and then judge whether there be not Cauſe 'that we be called upon; and do call upon each 'other ſeriouſly, to lay theſe Things to Heart, 'being greatly abaſed before the Lord for them.

'Upon the ſerious Conſideration of theſe things, 'we

'we judge it not only warrantable, but a Duty, to call upon you, and ourſelves, to ſet apart Time to humble our Souls before the Lord; to cry unto him for broken and penitent Hearts, and that he would turn away his Wrath, and be reconciled to us; for the Lord is merciful, gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in Goodneſs and Truth, forgiving Iniquity, Tranſgreſſion, and Sin; and will by no Means clear the Guilty, who are only ſuch as go on in their hardened and impenitent Hearts, refuſing the Grace offered by *Jeſus Chriſt*.

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'It is therefore hereby declared, That we and our Council do purpoſe, by the Grace of God, to ſet apart *Friday* next, being the 24th of this preſent *March*, for a Day of Humiliation.

'And it is hereby ordered, That timely Notice be given to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; who, together with the Out-Pariſhes, we doubt not, will willingly keep the ſame Day; and that like Notice be given throughout *England* and *Wales*, to have their ſeveral Meetings upon the ſame Day Fortnight; and that Copies hereof be printed and publiſhed, to be ſent to the ſeveral Parts of the Nation, to invite them unto the Performance of this Duty.'

Given at Whitehall, March 20, 1653.

J. THURLOE. [f]

The *Dutch* ſend three Ambaſſadors to ſollicit a Peace.

It has already been mentioned that the *States General* were grown tired of the War, and had ſued to *England*, in a very humble Manner, for Peace. To that End three Ambaſſadors Extraordinary, *Beverningck*, *Nieupoort*, and *Jongeſtall*, came over in *February* laſt. On the 23d of that Month Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, went down to meet them at *Graveſend*, from whence they and their Retinue were brought in ſeveral of the Commonwealth's Barges to the *Tower* the next Day, and conducted to a Houſe pro-

[f] Appointed Secretary of State to *Cromwell*, upon his Acceptance of the Protectorate.

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provided for them in *Weſtminſter*. The Ambaſſadors went in the Lord Protector's Coach of State, followed by thoſe of ſeveral Foreign Miniſters, and above ſixty Coaches more. On the 4th of this Month they were admitted, with great Solemnity, to an Audience of the Lord Protector, in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, which was richly hung with Tapiſtry for that Purpoſe.

To ſhew how well *Cromwell* acted the Monarch at giving Audience to Foreign Miniſters, we ſhall exhibit the Ceremonial obſerved on this Occaſion, as drawn up by the Ambaſſadors themſelves, and tranſmitted to their Maſters the States General; the Particulars of which run thus: [f]

The Manner of the Lord Protector's admitting them to an Audience.

'We were fetched in his Highneſs's Coach, accompanied with the Lords *Strickland* and *Jones*, with the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and brought into the great Banquetting-Room at *Whitehall*, where his Highneſs had never given Audience before. He ſtood upon a Pedeſtal raiſed with three Steps high from the Floor, being attended by the Lords, Preſident *Laurence*, Viſcount *Liſle*, *Skippon*, *Mackworth*, *Pickering*, *Montague*, and Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, together with the Lord *Claypole*, his Maſter of the Horſe. After three Reverences made at Entrance, in the Middle, and before the Steps, which his Highneſs anſwered every Time with reciprocal Reverences, we came up to the Steps; and deliver'd to him, with a Compliment of Induction, our Letters of Credence, who received them without opening them; the Reaſon whereof we ſuppoſe to be our delivering of the Copies and Tranſlations thereof in the Morning to Mr. *Thurloe*; ſo that we preſently began our Diſcourſe with a Compliment of Thanks, for his good Inclination ſhewn in the Treaty of our common Peace; of Congratulation in his new Dignity; of Preſentation of all reciprocal and neighbourly Offices on the Behalf of their High and Mighty Lordſhips; and wiſhing all Safety and Proſperity to his Perſon and Government: To which he anſwered with many

[f] *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 154.

many ſerious and ſignificant Expreſſions of reciprocal Inclination to their High and Mighty Lordſhips, and to the Buſineſs of Peace; for which we once more returned him Thanks, and preſented to his Highneſs twenty of our Gentlemen, who went in before us, being followed by twenty more, to have the Honour to kiſs his Hand; but inſtead thereof his Highneſs advanced near the Steps, bow'd to all the Gentlemen one by one, and put out his Hand to them at a Diſtance, by way of Congratulation; and then we were conducted back again after the ſame Manner.'

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Thus much for the Formalities obſerved by our Lord Protector, at the firſt Audience given to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors. A few Days after they acquainted his Highneſs, that all their Provinces had conſented to the Articles of Peace, and had impowered them to ratify the ſame. They alſo deſired an immediate Ceſſation of Hoſtilities. The Protector, however, was determin'd to make Peace Sword in Hand; and therefore went on vigorouſly in his Preparations for Sea, by preſſing of Mariners, and ordering Land-Forces on board the Ships. Nor were the *Dutch* wholly inactive; for, on the Report from their Ambaſſadors, finding that the Peace was not yet concluded, they ordered their Admirals to repair to *Amſterdam*, to take Care their Fleet ſhould be in readineſs for Action: However, all theſe Naval Preparations came to nothing; for, on the 5th of *April*, Articles of Peace were ſign'd by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Commiſſioners, to be ratified by their Principals in fifteen Days, which was done accordingly; the moſt material of which were theſe [p]:

A Treaty of Peace concluded between *England* and *Holland*.

By the 7th and ſubſequent Articles, it was agreed that the Enemies of the reſpective Nations ſhould not be protected by either of them; but there was no Proviſion made, by this Treaty, for the Coaleſcence

[p] Theſe Articles are printed at large in *Cromwell*'s Acts and Ordinances, p. 106, *et ſeq.*

Inter-regnum, 1654.

April.

lescence so much insisted upon during the Administration of Affairs by the Long Parliament.

By the 13th, the Duty of striking the Flag to the *English*, in the narrow Seas, was acknowledg'd [q].

By the 27th Article, Provision was made for bringing those to Justice, who had been concern'd in the bloody Massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*, for which the two last Kings could never obtain any Satisfaction.

By the 28th, the *Dutch* undertook to reimburse to the *English* Merchants the Losses they had sustained by the Seizure of 22 Ships in *Denmark*.

There was also a secret Article in this Treaty, which must allay the Joy of one considerable Party in *Holland*, for utterly excluding the Family of the House of *Orange*, from ever being Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

Soon after this Peace was proclaim'd, both in *England* and the *Low Countries*, with great Ceremony and Rejoicing; and was so grateful to the *Dutch* in general, that they struck three Medals on the Occasion [r]: Nor was this Peace less acceptable to the Protector, as appears by the following De-

q Mr. *Ludlow* writes, That the *Dutch* also promised to comply with the late Act of Parliament, whereby all foreign Commodities were forbidden to be brought into *England*, but in *English* Bottoms, except by such Vessels as properly belong'd to that Country where those Commodities should grow: But there is no express Mention of the Navigation Act in the Articles published by *Cromwell*'s Printer. In the 12th, which relates to mutual Trade and Intercourse between the two Commonwealths, there is indeed a general Saving of all the Laws and Ordinances of each respectively.

r These Medals represented,

1. *Neptune* on a Car, drawn by two Sea-Horses. The Shields of Arms of *England* and *Holland*, borne on his Knees; on each Side of him a *Triton* swimming; and on the Top a *Caduceus*, which supports *Mercury*'s wing'd Hat between two Branches of Palm.

Round the Medal is a Verse from *Terence*, alter'd thus,

Amantium Iræ Amicitiæ *Redintegratio est.*

On the Reverse was this Inscription in *Dutch*,

In Memory of the Peace, Union, and solemn Confederacy concluded at Westminster, April 15, *between his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and their High Mightinesses the* States General *of the* United Provinces;

of

Declaration of his Highneſs, for ſetting a-part a public Day of Thankſgiving on that Account, which was *in hæc Verba:* Inter-regnum. 1654. May.

'THAT this hath been a Nation of Bleſ-
'ſings, in the Midſt whereof ſo many Won-
'ders have been brought forth by the outſtretched
'Arm of the Almighty, even to Aſtoniſhment and
'Wonder, who can deny? Aſk we the Nations
'of this Matter, and they will teſtify: And indeed
'the Diſpenſations of the Lord have been as if he
'had ſaid, *England*, Thou art my Firſt-born, my
'Delight amongſt the Nations; under the whole
'Heavens the Lord hath not dealt ſo with any Na-
'tion round about us. A Thankſgiving-Day appointed thereupon.

'The Lord having added another Link to this
'Golden Chain of his Loving-kindneſs, by giving
'us a Peace with our Neighbours, the United Pro-
'vinces, (whereby he hath not only ſtopped a great

'Iſſue

of which the Ratifications were duly exchanged by both Parties, May 2, *and publiſhed the* 27*th of the ſame Month, in the Year* 1654, (N. S.)

2. Two Women ſitting, jointly ſupporting a Hat as an Emblem of the Liberty of the two Republics. The *Engliſh* Dame bears on her Knees a Harp, and the *Dutch* has a Belgic Lion couching at her Feet.

Mentibus unitis priſcus procul abſit Amaror,
Pilea ne ſubito parta Cruore ruant.

On the EXERGUE.

Concluſa decimo quinto Aprilis, *Anno* 1654.

REVERSE.

Two Ships, one carrying the Colours of *Holland*, and the other that of the States.

Luxuriat gemino Nexu tranquilla Salo Res,
Excipit unanimes totius Orbis Amor.

3. The Figures of Peace and Juſtice, with their Emblems.

Hæ mihi erunt Artes.

REVERSE.

Quod fœlix fauſtumque ſit. Poſt atrox Bellum, quod inter Anglicæ Belgicæque *Reipublicæ Rectores, bis fruſtra tentatis Pacis Conditionibus, Anno* 1652 *exarſit, in quo maximis utrinque Claſſibus, ſex* Septentrionali, *duo* Mediterraneo *Mari, pugnata ſunt cruenta Prælia, Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio, Auſpiciis* Olivarii, Magnæ Britanniæ *Protectoris, Fœderati* Belgii *Ordinum, Pax cum antiquo Fœdere reſtituta; cujus optimæ Rerum in Memoriam ſempiternam Senatus Populuſque* Amſtelodamenſis *hoc Monumentum fieri curarunt.*

Inter-regnum. 1654. May.

'Iſſue of Blood, but we truſt alſo given us Hearts 'to unite our Blood and Strength for the mutual 'Defence of each other) calls for great Returns of 'Thanks for the ſame.

'It is therefore thought fit to ſet a-part *Tueſday*, 'being the 23d of this preſent *May*, as a Day for 'Praiſe, and for the thankful Acknowledgment of 'this Bleſſing of Peace, which we hope hath, in 'the Womb of it, many other Bleſſings.

'And let us not forget our other Mercies: Was 'not the Earth lately ſo unuſually parch'd up, that 'it threaten'd Famine, and did cauſe the Beaſt of 'the Field to mourn for want of Food and Wa-'ter to ſuſtain it? And hath not the Lord ſo wa-'tered the Earth, that he hath turned thoſe Fears 'into the Expectation of the greateſt Plenty that 'ever was ſeen by any now living in this Nation? 'Conſider we alſo the Way whereby the Lord im-'parted this Mercy to us: Did any amongſt us 'foreknow it was coming? Was it not by ſtirring 'up our Hearts to ſeek the ſame by Prayer; and 'that immediately before the Lord vouchſafed us 'this Mercy? And doth not this beſpeak

1. 'That the Manner of conveying this Mercy, 'is the beſt Part of the Mercy?

2. 'That the Lord has not caſt us off; that 'his Spirit yet ſtrives with us; that he hath a 'People of his Love amongſt us; and loves the 'Nation ſo far, as to provoke it to be in love with 'calling upon the Name of the Lord for better 'Things than Corn and Wine?

3. 'That he knows beſt how and when to an-'ſwer the Expectation of the Huſbandman, and 'when to hear even the Mourning of the Brute 'Beaſt, who will yet much more hear the Deſires 'of them that fear him, and that in the fitteſt Sea-'ſon.

4. 'That the Heavens having thus declared the 'Glory of God, and the Earth anſwering there-'unto in its Fruitfulneſs, why ſhould not we be 'melted and ſoftened, humbling ourſelves under 'theſe marvellous Kindneſſes, and abounding unto 'all

'all Fruitfulneſs in every good Word and Work 'of Love'? And if every Place hath been made 'Partaker of his Showers, why ſhould not we, 'laying aſide our Differences, be inlarged alſo each 'to other?

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5. 'That ſeeing the Lord hath been thus uni- 'verſal in this Mercy, why ſhould we not univer- 'ſally turn from the National Evils and vain Prac- 'tices, which yet are too ſuperſtitiouſly and cuſto- 'marily exerciſed amongſt us; which we need not 'repeat here, becauſe they are too well known, 'and we truſt will be remembered by thoſe godly 'Miniſters who ſhall be called to preach unto the 'People upon this Occaſion? Conclude we with 'the Words of *David* in the 107th Pſalm, from the '30th to the laſt Verſe, *Then are they glad*, &c.

Given at Whitehall *this 9th of* May, 1654.

J. THURLOE.

The deſperate Situation of the King's Affairs.

It may be aſk'd what was become of the King of *Scots* all this Time? What we learn concerning him is, that he was ſtill at *Paris*; but had no Encouragement to ſtay in that Court, becauſe the *French* were very deſirous of a Peace with *England*, and had actually ſent over the Sieur *De Bourdeaux-Neufville*, and the Baron *De Baas*, to treat for that Purpoſe. There was a Report, at this Time, of a Match between the King and the Duke of *Lorraine*'s Daughter, with a Portion of Four Millions, and a Promiſe of her Father's Aſſiſtance towards his Reſtoration: But this proved all Chimera; and though there was a conſiderable Party of his Friends up in the Highlands, under the young Marquis of *Montroſe* and Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, their Efforts proved all in vain, and the unfortunate *Charles* was now in as deſperate a State as ever.

About this Time it was, as a modern elegant Hiſtorian obſerves [1], 'That there was no King in *Europe* that acted on his own Authority. Cardinal

[1] *Le Siecle de* Louis XIV. *par* Voltaire.

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nal *Mazarine* governed both *France* and its young King abſolutely. *Don Louis de Haro* did the ſame in *Spain* by *Philip* the Fourth; neither of theſe Kings being then ſo much as mentioned in the World. Only *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, maintained a little Authority in her Dominions, though abandon'd, or deſpis'd, or unknown, by other States. *Charles* the Second was then a Fugitive in *France*, with his Mother and Brothers, all their Misfortunes ſtill attending them; whilſt a Subject had uſurped the Royal Power, and had entirely brought three Kingdoms under his Yoke. *Cromwell*, our Author adds, would not take the Title of King, becauſe, ſays he, the *Engliſh* knew how to limit that Power, but were ignorant in that of a Protectorſhip.'

We cannot better ſhew the preſent Happineſs of *Cromwell*, and the fair Proſpect he had of its Continuance, than as ſumm'd up by two of his Enemies.

And the flouriſhing Condition of *Cromwell's*;

'The Protector, ſays Lord *Clarendon*[k], had now nothing to do but at home: *Holland* had accepted Peace on his own Terms; *Portugal* had bought it at a full Price, and upon an humble Submiſſion; *Denmark* was contented with ſuch an Alliance as he was pleaſed to make with them; *France* and *Spain* contended, by their Ambaſſadors, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him; *Scotland* lay under a heavy Yoke by the firſt Government of *Moncke*, who, after the Peace with the *Dutch*, was ſent back to govern that Province; which was reduced under the Government of the *Engliſh* Laws; and their Kirk and Kirkmen entirely ſubdued to the Obedience of the State, with Reference to Aſſemblies, or Synods; and *Ireland* ſo confeſſedly conquer'd that his younger Son, *Henry*, whom he ſent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, lived in the full Grandeur of that Office.' Mr. *Ludlow*[l] adds, 'That *Cromwell* was Maſter of a conſiderable Army and a powerful Fleet; all the Soldiers fully paid, with a Month's Advance; the

[k] *Hiſtory*, Vol. IV. p. 494. [l] *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 488.

the Stores ſufficiently ſupplied with all Proviſions for Sea and Land; 300,000*l.* of ready Money in *England*, and 150,000*l.* in the Treaſury of *Ireland*, all at his Controul.' His Power thus eſtabliſhed in the three Nations, as well as his Title recognized by foreign Princes, the Protector went on ſwimmingly in his high Office; and, if not loved in it, he, at leaſt, made himſelf to be feared by all Sorts of People. By the Inſtrument of Government he and his Council had a Power of raiſing Money during the Intervals of Parliament: And accordingly they paſs'd an Ordinance for continuing the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 120,000*l.* for the Maintenance of the Army and Navy till *Michaelmas*, and 90,000*l.* a-month to *Chriſtmas*, enſuing.

Inter-regnum. 1654. June.

Who paſſes an Ordinance for continuing the Monthly Aſſeſſment for maintaining his Forces.

Things went on in this Manner till *June*, when it was thought proper to call a Parliament upon the new Model preſcribed by the Inſtrument of Government. The Writs for that Purpoſe were iſſued out by the Lord Protector on the 1ſt of this Month; and, by an Order of Council, blank printed Copies of the Indentures between the Sheriffs, *&c.* and the Electors, were ſent to the ſeveral Returning Officers, to prevent their making uſe of any other Form. An Ordinance was ſoon after publiſhed for the Diſtribution of Elections for *Scotland* and *Ireland*; each Nation being to ſend 30 Members, who were to ſit and vote in this *Engliſh* Convention.

And iſſues out Writs, in his own Name, for calling a Parliament.

The Writ and Indenture above-mentioned were *in hæc Verba:*

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as it was publickly declared at *Weſtminſter*, *December* 16, 1653,

To the Sheriff of Greeting.

FOR divers weighty and urgent Affairs concerning Us and the State and Defence of the ſaid

Inter-regnum. 1654. June.

Commonwealth, We, by the Advice and Aſſent of Our Council, have ordained a Parliament to be held at Our City of Weſtminſter, *the third Day of* September *next coming; there to conſult and adviſe with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the ſaid Commonwealth.*

We do therefore command you, firmly injoining that, Proclamation being made of the Day and Place aforeſaid in every Market-Town within your County, you cauſe to be freely and indifferently choſen, by them who ſhall be preſent at ſuch Election, . . of the moſt fit and diſcreet Perſons to ſerve as Knights, with their Swords girt, for the County of ; and for the Boroughs of Burgeſſes, of the more diſcreet and ſufficient Sort. And the Names of the ſame Knights and Burgeſſes ſo to be choſen, whether they be preſent or abſent, that you cauſe to be incerted in certain Indentures, thereupon to be made between you and them who ſhall be preſent at ſuch Choice; and that you cauſe them to come at the Day and Place aforeſaid, (ſo that the ſaid Knights ſeverally may have full and ſufficient Power for themſelves and the People of that County; and the ſaid Burgeſſes ſeverally for the People of the Boroughs aforeſaid) to do and conſent unto thoſe Things which, then and there, by Common Counſel of the ſaid Commonwealth in Parliament, by God's Bleſſing, ſhall be ordained upon the weighty Affairs aforeſaid; ſo that, for Defect of ſuch-like Power, or by reaſon of improvident Choice of the Knights and Burgeſſes aforeſaid, the ſaid Affairs may not remain undone in anywiſe.

And We will that neither You, or any other Sheriff of the ſaid Commonwealth, be in anywiſe choſen. And that the ſaid Choice, diſtinctly and openly ſo to be made, you certify to Us in Our Chancery under your Seal, and the Seals of them that ſhall be preſent at ſuch Choice; ſending unto Us the other Part of the ſaid Indentures annexed, with this Our Writ. And in your Proceedings, and Execution hereof, We will that you purſue and obſerve the ſeveral Directions limited,

limited, appointed, and preſcribed by the Government aforeſaid. Inter-regnum. 1654.

Witneſs Ourſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the firſt Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1654, June.

LENTHALL.

The Form of an INDENTURE between the Sheriff and the Electors of Perſons to ſerve in Parliament for Counties.

THIS Indenture, made the Day of , in the Year of our Lord 1654, *at , in the County of , between , Sheriff of the County aforeſaid, of the one Part, and* C. D. E. F. G. H. *and divers other Perſons qualified and capable to elect Members to ſerve in Parliament for Counties, as is preſcribed in the Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *witneſſeth, That Proclamation having been made in every Market-Town in the County aforeſaid, within ten Days after the Receipt of a certain Writ of the Lord Protector to the aforeſaid Sheriff directed, and to one Part of theſe Indentures annexed, for the Election of Knights, fit and diſcreet Perſons of the County aforeſaid, for the Parliament of the ſaid Lord Protector, in the Writ aforeſaid ſpecified to be choſen, and to be at the Parliament of the ſaid Lord Protector at* Weſtminſter, *in the County of* Middleſex, *the third Day of* September *next to be held; the aforeſaid* C. D. E. F. G. H. &c. *and divers other Perſons of the County aforeſaid, who were preſent at ſuch Election, freely and indifferently have choſen Knights, girt with Swords; that is to ſay,* A. B. &c. *to be in the Parliament aforeſaid, as in the ſaid Writ is mentioned; who for themſelves, as alſo for all the People of the County aforeſaid, have full and ſufficient Power to do and conſent unto thoſe Things which, in the aforeſaid Parliament, ſhall, then and there, by common Conſent and Counſel, happen to be ordained.*

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Provided, and it is hereby declared, That the Perſons ſo choſen ſhall not have Power to alter the Government as it is now ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.

In witneſs whereof as well the Seal of Office of the ſaid Sheriff, as alſo the Seals of the Electors aforeſaid, the Day, Year, and Place aboveſaid, to theſe Indentures are put and affix'd.

The Form of the Indenture between the Sheriff and the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of Boroughs, was to the ſame Effect as that for the Counties, *mutatis mutandis.*

July. There had been a Cavalier Plot diſcovered; in which, as was ſaid, the Protector was to be taken off by Aſſaſſination or otherways. Several Perſons were apprehended thereupon, and examined by *Cromwell* and his Council, and ſoon after tried before the High Court of Juſtice; amongſt whom Mr. *John Gerard* and Mr. *Peter Vowell* were condemned, and, on the 10th of this Month, executed for it.

A Plot for aſſaſſinating him.

On the ſame Day was beheaded Don *Pantaleon Sa*, Brother to the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, for a Riot and Murder in *Cornhill*; and though much Intereſt was made to the Protector for his Life, yet no Intreaties could prevail upon him to wave, what Lord *Clarendon* ſtyles an exemplary Piece of Juſtice.

Soon after the Execution above-mention'd, there was publiſhed, by Authority of the Government, a Narrative of this Conſpiracy againſt *Cromwell*[m]: A ſhort Extract of the Plan thereof, which is very ſlightly paſs'd over by the Contemporary Writers, will be no improper Digreſſion.

The

[m] It bears this Title, *A true Account of the late bloody and inhuman Conſpiracy againſt his Highneſs the Lord Protector and this Commonwealth, for the Subverſion of the preſent Government thereof, and involving this Nation in Blood. Manifeſted by the Examinations and Confeſſions, upon Oath, of ſome of the principal Conſpirators themſelves; as alſo by the Depoſitions of ſeveral Witneſſes which were taken concerning the ſame. Publiſhed by ſpecial Command.* — Printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, in *Thames-ſtreet*, over-againſt *Baynard's Caſtle*, 1654.

'The Parties in this Conſpiracy, conſiſting of many Thouſands, were to have been diſpoſed to their ſeveral Poſts: The Parts they intended to act were, to have ſeized upon the Horſe-Guard at the *Mews*, and there to have mounted the Troopers own Horſes; to have ſeized alſo upon the Foot-Guard at *St. James's*, and upon *Whitehall* and the Tower of *London*; as alſo upon all the Horſes in the Stables and Paſtures in and about *London*, and fifteen Miles round, which were to be drawn all into a form'd Body; and at the ſame Time to have had conſiderable Parties ready to have fallen upon the Guards at *Iſlington* and in *Southwark*; to have ſecured *London*, let down the Portculliſſes, and then, by raiſing of Apprentices, and firing the City in ſeveral Places, to have prevented all Aſſiſtance. Their Intent was likewiſe to have ſeized on the Perſon of his Highneſs the Lord Protector with a Party of Horſe, upon a *Saturday* as he was going to *Hampton-Court*, and to have murdered him. Together with him they intended to have cut off the Council in general, or as many of them as they could have got into their Power. And if theſe Things could not have been effected in the Way to *Hampton-Court*, then to have attempted his Highneſs and the Council in the Chapel at *Whitehall*, or as they were ſitting in Council. Next to have ſeized on the Lord Mayor, and to have made him proclaim *Charles Stuart* by the Name of *Charles the Second*: And this to have been done at one Inſtant of Time. Col. *Finch* was to have commanded the Party intended for *London*; *John Gerard* that Party that was to have fallen upon *Whitehall* and the Protector; *Henſhaw* that upon the *Mews*; Col. *Deane* that upon *St. James's*; *Thomas Mayhart* and other Perſons were to have fallen upon Col. *Ingoldsby's* Regiment in *Southwark*; *Peter Vowell*, one *Dayle* an Inukeeper, and ſome others, upon the Guards at *Holborn* and *Iſlington*.

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Heads of the Plan thereof.

'The Stroke having been thus given in and about *London*, divers Regiments of Horſe and

'Foot

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Foot were to have riſen in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; ſo that, by this Means, both City and Country muſt have been involved again in Blood. For the Execution of all which Major *Henſhaw*, and *John Wiſeman*, his Half-Brother, went into *France*, to receive a Commiſſion from *Charles Stuart*; where the ſaid *Henſhaw* had Conference with the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, the Lord *Ormond*, and Sir *Edward Hyde* about it; ſo alſo had *John Gerard*, and received Directions to proceed in it: And though they returned at firſt only with a verbal Commiſſion, yet they had afterwards one in Writing from the ſaid *Charles Stuart* [n]. This was the Sum of the Buſineſs, which was firſt to have been begun by Perſons of leſſer Conſideration; and then, afterwards, more eminent Perſons were to have engaged in it openly.'

But to return to Parliamentary Matters:——

On the 27th of this Month Liſts were returned to the Protector and his Council, with the Names of thoſe who were elected to ſerve as Members, in the next Convention, for the ſeveral Shires,

n In *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. II. p. 248, is a Copy of a kind of Proclamation from the King, dated at *Paris*, *May* 3, 1654, offering a Reward of 500*l. per Ann.* and a full Pardon, alſo the Honour of Knighthood, and farther Preferment, to any Perſon whatever, (except the late Speaker *Lenthall*, Preſident *Bradſhaw*, and Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*) who ſhould by Piſtol, Sword, Poiſon, or any other Means, deſtroy *Oliver Cromwell*; wherein it is ſtyled an Act acceptable to God and good Men, to cut off ſo deteſtable a Villain from the Face of the Earth. In the ſame Volume, p. 248, *et ſeq.* are Copies of many of the Examinations, Confeſſions, &c. of the Perſons apprehended for this Plot: But

Lord *Clarendon*, in his Account of this Conſpiracy, not only clears Mr. *Gerard* and *Vowell* from having any Hand in it, but affirms, That the King was averſe to any Riſing in his Favour; charging his Friends to be quiet, and not engage themſelves in any Plots, as being only what would prove ruinous to themſelves, and do him no Service. *Hiſtory*, Vol. VI. p. 491.

Mr. *Carte* treats this Affair as a ſham Plot, and a meer Contrivance of Major *Henſhaw*, one of *Cromwell's* Spies, in order to furniſh the Protector with a more plauſible Pretence for perſecuting the Royaliſts.——But this Writer produces no Authority for his Aſſertion. *Carte*, Vol. IV. p. 662.

Shires, Cities and Boroughs, in *England* and *Wales*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as follows:

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The Names of the Members who conſtituted *Cromwell*'s ſecond Parliament.

BEDFORDSHIRE.
Sir *William Boteler*, Knt.
John Harvey, Eſq;
Edm. Wingate, Eſq;
John Neal, Eſq;
Samuel Bedford, Eſq;
Bedford *Town*.
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

BERKSHIRE.
George Purefoy, Eſq;
Edm. Dunch, Eſq;
Sir *Robert Pye*, Knt.
John Dunch, Eſq;
John Southby, Eſq;
Abingdon.
Thomas Holt, Eſq;
Reading.
Robert Hammond, Eſq;

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.
Sir *Richard Pigot*, Knt.
Richard Ingoldſby, Eſq;
Richard Grenville, Eſq;
George Fleetwood, Eſq;
Buckingham *Town*.
Francis Ingoldſby, Eſq;
Ayleſbury.
Henry Phillips, Eſq;
Chipping-Wycombe.
Thomas Scott, of *Lambeth*, Eſq;

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.
John Deſborough, Eſq;
Francis Ruſſel, Eſq;
Henry Pickering, Eſq;
Robert Caſtel, Eſq;
Cambridge *Town*.
Richard Timbs, Ald.
Cambridge *Univerſity*.
Lord *Henry Cromwell*.
Iſle of Ely.
John Thurloe, Eſq; Secretary of State.
George Glapthorn, Eſq;

CHESHIRE.
John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law, Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*.
Sir *George Booth*, Bart.
Henry Brooke, of *Norton*, Eſq;
John Crew, of *Ukinton*, Eſq;
Cheſter *City*.
Charles Whalley, Eſq;

CORNWALL.
Thomas Gewen, of *Bradridge*, Eſq;
Anthony Nichol, of *Penroſe*, Eſq;
Thomas Ceely, of *Treviſham*, Eſq;
Richard Carter, of *Colomb-Major*, Eſq;
Anthony Rouſe, of *Wooton*, Eſq;
James Launce, of *Pennare*, Eſq;

Walter

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Walter Moyle, of *Bake*, Esq;
Charles Beſcawen, of *Tregothan*, Esq;
Launceſton.
Robert Bennet, Esq;
Truro.
Francis Rouſe, Esq;
Penryn.
John Fox, Esq;
Eaſtlow *and* Weſtlow.
Major *John Blackmore*.

CUMBERLAND.
Charles Howard, Esq;
William Briſcoe, Esq;
Carliſle *City*.
Col. *Thomas Fitch*,

DERBYSHIRE.
Nathaniel Barton, Esq;
Thomas Sanders, Esq;
Edward Gill, Esq;
John Gell, Esq;
Derby *Town*.
Gervaſe Bennet, Esq;

DEVONSHIRE.
Robert Rolle, Esq;
Arthur Upton, Esq;
Thomas Reynell, Esq;
William Morris, Esq;
John Hale, Esq;
William Baſtard, Esq;
William Fry, Esq;
Thomas Sanders, Esq;
Sir *John Northcot*, Bart.
Henry Hatſel, Esq;
John Quick, Esq;
Exeter *City*.
Thomas Bampfield, Esq;
Thomas Gibbons, Esq;
Plymouth
Chriſtopher Ceely, Merchant.
William Lee, Esq;
Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardneſs.
Thomas Bain, of *Tabſtall*, Esq;
Tetneſs.
John Deſborough, Esq; one of the Generals at Sea.
Barnſtable.
John Dodderidge, Esq;
Tiverton.
Rob. Shapcot, of *Bradmerſh*, Esq;
Honiton.
Sir *John Young*, Knt.

DORSETSHIRE.
William Sydenham, Esq;
John Bingham, Esq;
Sir *Walter Earle*, Knt.
John Fitz-James, Esq;
John Trenchard, Esq;
Henry Henley, Esq;
Dorcheſter.
John Whiteway, Esq;
Weymouth *and* Melcomb-Regis.
Dennis Bond, Esq;
Lyme-Regis.
Edmund Prideaux, Esq;
Attorney-General.
Poole.
Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bart.

DURHAM.
Col. *Robert Lilburne*, of *Thickley-Puncherdan*.

George

George Lilburne, of *Sunderland*, Eſq;

Durham *City*.

Anthony Smith, Mercer.

ESSEX.

Sir *Will. Maſham*, Bart.
Sir *Rich. Everard*, Bart.
Sir *Tho. Honeywood*, Kt.
Sir *Thomas Bowes*, Knt.
Henry Mildmay, of *Graces*, Eſq;
Thomas Coke, of *Pedmarſh*, Eſq;
Col. *Carew Mildmay*.
Sir *Samuel Sleigh*, Knt.
Dionyſius Wakering, Eſq;
Edward Turner, Eſq;
Richard Cutts, Eſq;
Oliver Raymond, Eſq;
Herbert Pelham, Eſq;

Malden.

Col. *Joachim Matthews*.

Colcheſter.

Col. *John Barkſtead*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*.
John Maidſtone, Eſq;

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

George Berkeley, Eſq;
Matthew Hale, one of the Juſtices of the Common Bench.
John How, Eſq;
Chriſtopher Guiſe, Eſq;
Sylvanus Wood, Eſq;

Glouceſter *City*.

William Lentball, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls.
Thomas Pury, ſen. Eſq;

Tewkſbury.

Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bart.

Cirenceſter.

John Stone, of *Friday-ſtreet*, *London*, Eſq;

HEREFORDSHIRE.

John Scudamore, Eſq;
John Patriſhal, Eſq;
John Flacket, Eſq;
Richard Read, Eſq;

Hereford *City*.

Bennet Hoſkins, Eſq;

Leominſter.

John Birch, Eſq;

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Henry Laurence, Lord Preſident of his Highneſs's Council.
William Earl of *Saliſbury*.
Sir *John Wittewrong*, Knt.
Sir *Richard Lucy*, Knt. and Bart.
Thomas Nicholl, Eſq;

St. Albans.

Alban Cox, Eſq;

Hertford.

Iſaac Pulter, Eſq;

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Edward Montague, Eſq; one of his Highneſs's Council.
Henry Cromwell, jun. of *Ramſey*, Eſq;
Stephen Pheſant, of *Upwood*, Eſq;

Hunt-

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Huntingdon *Town.*
John Bernard, Eſq;

KENT.
William James, Eſq;
Col. *John Dixwell.*
John Boys, of *Bettiſhanger*, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Vane*, ſen. Kt.
Col. *Ralph Weldon.*
Lambert Godfrey, Eſq;
Col. *Richard Beal.*
Lt. Col. *Henry Oxenden.*
Auguſtine Skinner, Eſq;
Daniel Shatterden, Eſq;
John Seyliard, jun. Eſq;
Canterbury *City.*
Thomas Scott, Eſq;
Francis Butcher, Eſq;
Rocheſter *City.*
John Parker, Eſq; Recorder.
Maidſtone.
John Banks, jun. Gent.
Queenborough.
Auguſtine Garland, Eſq;

LANCASHIRE.
Richard Holland, Eſq;
Gilbert Ireland, Eſq;
Rich. Standiſh, of *Ducksbury*, Eſq;
William Aſhurſt, Eſq;
Preſton.
Rich. Shuttleworth, Eſq;
Lancaſter.
Henry Porter, Eſq;
Liverpool.
Thomas Birch, ſen. Eſq;
Mancheſter.
Charles Worſley, of the *Plat*, Eſq;

LEICESTERSHIRE.
Thomas Beaumont, Eſq;
Henry Earl of *Stamford.*
Thomas Lord *Grey*, of *Grooby.*
Thomas Pochin, Eſq;
Leiceſter *Town.*
Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, of *Noſeley*, in the County of *Leiceſter*, Bart.
William Stanley, Gent. and Alderman of the Borough.

LINCOLNSHIRE.
Edward Roſſiter, Eſq;
Thomas Hall, Eſq;
Thomas Liſter, Eſq;
Charles Hall, Eſq;
Francis Clinton, alias *Fiennes*, Eſq;
Thomas Hatcher, Eſq;
William Woolley, Eſq;
William Saville, Eſq;
William Welby, Eſq;
John Wray, Eſq;
Lincoln *City.*
William Marſhall, Alderman.
Origen Peart, Alderman.
Boſton.
William Ellis, Eſq;
Grantham.
William Bury, ſen. Eſq;
Stamford.
John Weaver, Eſq;
Great-Grimſby.
William Wray, Eſq;

MIDDLESEX.
Sir *William Roberts*, Kt.
Joſiah

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Joſiah Berners, Eſq;
Sir *James Harrington*, Knt. and Bart.
Edm. Harvey, Eſq;
Weſtminſter *City*.
Thomas Latham, Eſq;
Tho. Fauconbridge, Eſq;
London *City*.
Thomas Foot, Alderman.
William Steel, Serjeant at Law, Recorder.
Thomas Adams, Eſq;
John Langham, Eſq;
Samuel Avery, Eſq;
Andrew Riccard, Eſq;

MONMOUTHSHIRE.
Richard Lord *Cromwell*.
Col. *Philip Jones*, one of his Highneſs's Council.
Henry Herbert, Eſq;

NORFOLK.
Sir *John Hobart*, Bart.
Sir *William Doyley*, Knt.
Sir *Ralph Hare*, Bart.
Thomas Weld, Eſq;
Robert Wilton, Eſq;
Thomas Sotherton, Eſq;
Philip Woodhouſe, Eſq;
Robert Wood, ſen. Eſq;
Philip Bedingfield, ſen. Eſq;
Tobias Frere, Eſq;
Norwich *City*.
Bernard Church, Eſq;
John Hobart, Eſq;
Lynn-Regis.
Philip Skippon, one of his Highneſs's Council.
Guybon Goddard, Eſq; Recorder.
Great-Yarmouth.
Col. *William Goffe*.
Thomas Dunn, Gent.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bt. one of his Highneſs's Council.
John Crew, ſen. Eſq;
Sir *John Norwich*, Knt. and Bart.
John Cleypole, ſen. Eſq;
Sir *John Dryden*, Bart.
Thomas Brook, Eſq;
Peterborough *City*.
Alexander Blake, Eſq;
Northampton *Town*.
Peter Whalley, Gent.

NORTHUMBERLAND.
William Fenwick, of *Wallington*, Eſq;
Robert Fenwick, of *Bedlington*, Eſq;
Henry Ogle, of *Egling-ham*, Eſq;
Newcaſtle *upon* Tyne.
Sir *Arth. Haſelrigge*, Bt.
Berwick *upon* Tweed.
Geo. Fenwick, of *Brenk-born*, in the County of *Northumberland*, Eſq;

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
William Pierepoint, Eſq;
Edward Whalley, Eſq;
Edward Nevill, Eſq;
Charles White, Eſq;
Nottingham *Town*.
James Chadwick, Eſq;
John Maſon, Gent.

Ox-

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OXFORDSHIRE.
Robert Jenkinſon, Eſq;
Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant-General of *Ireland*.
Col. *James Whitlocke*.
Nathaniel Pigmes, Eſq;
William Lenthall, Eſq;
Oxford *City*.
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.
Oxford *Univerſity*.
John Owen, D. D.
Woodſtock.
Lieut. Gen. *Charles Fleetwood*.

RUTLANDSHIRE.
William Stoield, Eſq;
Edward Horſeman, Eſq;

SHROPSHIRE.
Humphrey Mackworth, ſen. Eſq;
Thomas Mitton, Eſq;
Robert Corbet, of *Stanwarden*, Eſq;
Philip Young, Eſq;
Shrewſbury.
Richard Cheſhire, Gent.
Humphrey Mackworth, jun. Gent.
Bruges, *alias* Bridgenorth.
William Crown, Eſq;
Ludlow.
John Aſton, Gent.

SOMERSETSHIRE.
Sir *John Horner*, Knt.
John Buckland, Eſq;
Gen. *John Desborough*.
John Preſton, Eſq;
John Harrington, Eſq;
John Aſh, Eſq;
Charles Stayning, Eſq;
Robert Long, Eſq;
Richard Yeomans, Eſq;
Thomas Hippeſley, Eſq;
Samuel Perry, Eſq;
Briſtol *City*.
Robert Aldworth, Eſq;
Miles Jackſon, Eſq;
Bath *City*.
Col. *Alexander Popham*, of *Honiſtreet*.
Wells *City*.
Liſlebone Long, Eſq;
Taunton.
Thomas Gorges, Eſq;
John Gorges, Eſq;
Bridgwater.
Col. *Robert Blake*.

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Richard Lord *Cromwell*.
Richard Norton, Eſq;
Richard Major, Eſq;
John St. Barbe, Eſq;
Robert Wallop, Eſq;
Francis Rivet, Eſq;
Edward Hooper, Eſq;
John Bulkley, Eſq;
Wincheſter *City*.
John Hildeſley, Eſq;
Southampton *Town*.
John Liſle, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and Recorder.

Portſ-

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Portſmouth *Town*.
Nathaniel Whetham, Eſq;

Andover.
John Dowſe, of *Hurſley*, Eſq;

Iſle of Wight.
Col. *William Sydenham*, one of his Highneſs's Council.
John Liſle, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

STAFFORDSHIRE.
Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Bart.
Thomas Crompton, Eſq;
Thomas Whitgrave, Eſq;

Lichfield *City*.
Thomas Minors, Eſq;

Stafford.
John Bradſhaw, Serjeant at Law.

Newcaſtle under Line.
Edward Keeling, Gent.

SUFFOLK.
Sir *Thomas Barnardiſton*, Knt.
Sir *William Spring*, Bart.
Sir *Thomas Beddingfield*, Knt.
William Bloys, Eſq;
John Gurdon, Eſq;
William Gibbs, Eſq;
John Brandling, Eſq;
Alexander Bence, Eſq;
John Sicklemore, Eſq;
Thomas Bacon, Eſq;

Ipſwich.
Nathaniel Bacon, Eſq;
Francis Bacon, Eſq;

St. Edmundſbury.
Samuel Moody, Eſq;
John Clark, Eſq;

Dunwich.
Rob. Brewſter, of *Wrentham*, Eſq;

Sudbury.
John Fothergill, Eſq;

SURREY.
Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Knt.
Major-General *John Lambert*.
Arthur Onſlow, Eſq;
Francis Drake, Eſq;
Robert Holman, of *Darking*, Eſq;
Col. *Robert Wood*, of *Kingſton*.

Southwark.
Samuel Highland, Eſq;
Robert Warcup, Eſq;

Guilford.
Richard Hiller, of *Guilford*, Gent.

Ryegate.
Edward Biſhe, Eſq;

SUSSEX.
Herbert Morley, Eſq;
John Stapeley, Eſq;
John Fagg, Eſq;
William Hay, Eſq;
John Pelham, Eſq;
Anthony Stapeley, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Pelham*, Bart.
Francis Lord *Dacres*.
Herbert Sprungat, Eſq;

Chicheſter *City*.
Henry Peckham, Eſq; Recorder.

Lewes.

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Lewes.
Henry Shelley, Eſq;
East-Grinſted.
John Goodwin, Eſq;
Arundell.
Anthony Shirley, of *Preſton*, Eſq;

WARWICKSHIRE.
Richard Lucy, Eſq;
Thomas Willoughby, Eſq;
Sir *Richard Temple*, Bart.
William Purefoy, Eſq;
Coventry *City*.
William Purefoy, Eſq;
Robert Beak, Eſq;
Warwick *Town*.
Richard Lucy, Eſq;

WESTMORELAND.
Chriſtopher Liſter, Eſq;
Jeremy Baynes, Eſq;

WILTSHIRE.
Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Bart.
Alexander Popham, Eſq;
Thomas Grove, of *Bury-Court*, Eſq;
Alex. Thiſtlethwait, Eſq;
Francis Hollis, Eſq;
John Ernly, of *Bury* Town, Eſq;
William Yorke, Eſq;
John Norden, Eſq;
James Aſh, Eſq;
Gabriel Martin, Eſq;
New Sarum *City*.
Edward Tooker, Eſq;
William Stevens, Eſq;
Recorder there.
Marlborough.
Lieut. Gen. *Charles Fleetwood*.
Deviſes.
Edward Baynton, Eſq;

WORCESTERSHIRE.
Sir *Thomas Rous*, Knt. and Bart.
Edward Pitt, Eſq;
Nicholas Lechmere, Eſq;
John Bridges, Eſq;
Talbot Badger, Eſq;
Worceſter *City*.
William Collins, Eſq;
Edward Elvines, Alderman.

YORKSHIRE.
Weſt-Riding.
Thomas Lord *Fairfax*.
John Lambert, Eſq; one of his Highneſs's Council.
Henry Tempeſt, Eſq;
John Bright, Eſq;
Edward Gell, Eſq;
Martin Liſter, Eſq;
Eaſt-Riding.
Sir *Will. Strickland*, Knt. and Bart.
Walter Strickland, Eſq; one of his Highneſs's Council.
Hugh Bethell, Eſq;
Richard Robinſon, of *Thicket*, Eſq;
North-Riding.
George Lord *Eure*.
Francis Laſcelles, Eſq;
Thomas Harriſon, Eſq;
George Smithſon, Eſq;
York

York *City.*

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Knt. one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

Thomas Dickenſon, Alderman.

Kingſton *upon* Hull.

William Liſter, Eſq;

Beverley.

Francis Thorp, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Scarbrough.

John Wildman, of the City of *Weſtminſter*, Eſq;

Richmond.

John Waſtal, of *Scorton*, Eſq;

Leeds.

Adam Baynes, of *Knowſtrop*, Eſq;

Halifax.

Jeremy Bentley, Gent.

CINQUE PORTS.

Dover.

William Cullen, Eſq;

Sandwich.

Lieut. Col. *Tho. Kelſey.*

Rye.

Herbert Morley, Eſq;

WALES.

ANGLESEY.

George Twiſleton, Eſq;
William Foxwiſt, Eſq;

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

Henry Lord *Herbert.*
Edmund Jones, Eſq;

CARDIGANSHIRE.

James Phillips, Eſq;
Jenkin Lloyd, Eſq;

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

John Cleypole, Eſq;
Rowland Dawkins, Eſq;

CARNARVONSHIRE.

John Glynn, Serjeant at Law.
Thomas Moſtyn, Eſq;

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Col. *Simon Theloall.*
Col. *John Carter.*

FLINTSHIRE.

John Trevor, Eſq;
Andrew Ellis, Eſq;

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Philip Jones, Eſq; one of his Highneſs's Council.
Edm. Thomas, of *Wenro*, Eſq;

Cardiffe *Town.*

John Price, Eſq;

MERIONETHSHIRE.

John Vaughan, of *Kevenbodig*, Eſq;

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Sir *John Price*, of *Newtown*, Bart.
Charles Lloyd, of *Garth*, Eſq;

PEMBROKESHIRE.

Sir [illegible] Philipps, of Picton-Castle, Bart.
Arthur Owen, of Newmarket, Esq;

Haverford-West.

John Upton, Esq;

RADNORSHIRE.

George Gwyn, Esq;
Henry Williams, Esq;

SCOTLAND.

SHIRES.

Inverness, Lieutenant-Colonel *William Mitchell*.
Forfar and *Kincardine*, Col. *David Barclay*, of *Urie*.
Fife and *Kinross*, Col. *James Hay*.
Perth, *George* Earl of *Linlithgow*.
Linlithgow, *Stirling*, and *Clackmannan*, Col. *Thomas Read*, Governor of *Stirling*.
Dunbarton, *Argyle*, and *Bute*, Sir *James Hamilton*, of *Orbiston*.
Lanerk, Col. *William Lockhart*.
Mid-Lothian, *George Smith*, Esq; one of the Judges of *Scotland*.
Merce, *John Swinton*, of *Swinton*, Esq;
Selkirk and *Peebles*, *John Thompson*, Auditor-General of the Revenues of *Scotland*.
Dumfries, Col. *James Earl*, of *Hartsell*.
Wigtoun, Sir *James MacDowel*, of *Garthland*.
East-Lothian, Mr. *Benjamin Bressy*, of *Dolphinton*.

CITIES and BOROUGHS.

Edinburgh, *Samuel Desborough*, one of the Commissioners for the Revenues, *George Downing*, Esq; Scout-Master-General.
Forfar, *Dundee*, *Aberbrothock*, *Montrose*, and *Brechin*, Sir *Alexander Wedderburn*, of *Blackness*, Knt. Clerk of *Dundee*.
Linlithgow, *Queen's-Ferry*, *Perth*, *Culross*, and *Stirling*, Col. *John Okey*.
St. Andrew's, *Dysart*, *Kirkaldy*, *Coupar*, *Anstruther-Easter*, *Pittenweem*, *Crail*, *Dunfermline*, *Kinghorn*, *Anstruther-Wester*, *Innerkeithing*, *Kilrenny*, and *Burnt-Island*, *James Sword*, Burgess of *St. Andrew's*.

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Lanerk, *Glaſgow*, *Rutherglen*, *Rothſay*, *Renfrew*, *Ayre*, *Irvin*, and *Dunbarton*, Mr. *John Wilkie*, of *Bromhouſe*.

Dumfries, *Sanquhar*, *Lochmaben*, *Annan*, *Wigtoun*, *Kircudbright*, *Whitehorn*, and *Galloway*, Major *Jeremiah Tollhurſt*, Burgeſs of *Dumfries*.

Peebles, *Selkirk*, *Jedburgh*, *Lauder*, *North-Berwick*, *Dunbar*, and *Haddington*, Mr. *William Thompſon*, Burgeſs of *Haddington*. [k]

IRELAND. [l]

COUNTIES.

Meath and *Lowth*, Col. *John Fowke*, Governor of *Drogheda*, Major *William Cadogan*.

Kildare and *Wickloe*, Major *Anthony Morgan*, Major *William Meredith*.

Dublin, Col. *John Hewſon*, of *Lutterels* Town.

Catherlough, *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, and *Queen's County*, Col. *Thomas Sadler*, Col. *Daniel Axtell*.

Weſt-Meath, *Longford*, and *King's County*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, Col. *Thomas Scott*.

Downe, *Antrim*, and *Armagh*, Col. *Robert Venables*, Col. *Arthur Hill*.

Derry, *Donnegal*, and *Tyrone*, Col. *John Clarke*, of

[k] By the 9th Article of the Inſtrument of Government, the Number of Members to ſit and ſerve for *Scotland* was fix'd at 30; and accordingly Writs were iſſued out to the Shires of *Orkney*, *Zetland*, and *Caithneſs* for one; to *Sutherland*, *Roſs*, and *Cromarty*, one; to *Elgin* and *Nairn*, one; to *Banff*, one; to *Aberdeen*, one; to *Ayre* and *Renfrew*, one; to *Roxburgh*, one; and to the Boroughs of *Dornoch*, *Tain*, *Inverneſs*, *Dingwall*, *Nairn*, *Elgin*, and *Forres*, one; to *Banff*, *Cullen*, and *Aberdeen*, one; but it does not appear that more than the above 21 Members were elected. Mr. *Whitlocke*, in ſome Meaſure, accounts for this, by ſaying, 'That five Sheriffdoms in *Scotland* return'd, That not one Perſon fit to be a Parliament-Man was to be found within their Liberties:' But the Reaſon of the reſt making no Return we cannot account for. *Memorials*, p. 581.

[l] Mr. *Ludlow* writes, 'That ſome of the Commiſſioners in *Ireland* were againſt the Proprietors of Lands chuſing Members, leſt they ſhould return ſuch as were Enemies to the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and therefore propoſed that, for this Time, *Cromwell* and his Council ſhould nominate the Thirty who were to repreſent the *Iriſh* Nation in the *Engliſh* Parliament.' Our *Memorialiſt*, who was at that Time one of the Commiſſioners, takes to himſelf the Merit of defeating this Project of, what he calls, the Court Party.

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of *Londonderry*, *Thomas Newburgh*, or *Clifford*, in the County of *Donegal*, Eſq;
Cavan, *Fermannagh*, and *Monoghan*, Col. *John Cole*.
Kerry, *Limerick*, and *Clare*, Major General Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Henry Ingoldſby*.
Cork, *Roger Boyle*, Lord Baron of *Broghill*.
Tipperary and *Waterford*, *John Reynolds*, Commiſſary-General, *Hierom Sankey*, Eſq;
Sligo, *Roscommon*, and *Le Trim*, Sir *Robert King*, Knt. Sir *John Temple*, Knt.
Galway and *Mayo*, Sir *Charles Coot*, Commiſſary-General *John Reynolds*.

CITIES and TOWNS.

Dublin, *Daniel Hutchinſon*, Alderman.
Carrickfergus and *Belfaſt*, Major *Daniel Redman*.
Derry and *Colerane*, *Ralph King*, Eſq;
Limerick and *Kilmallock*, *William Purefoy*, Eſq;
Cork and *Youghall*, Col. *William Jephſon*.
Bandon and *Kingſale*, *Vincent Gookin*, Eſq;
Waterford and *Clonmell*, *William Halſey*, Eſq;

Having taken Notice of every Thing material to our Purpoſe, which happened in the Interval between the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament and the Meeting of the next, we ſhall conclude it with an Account of ſuch Ordinances, made and publiſhed by the Protector and his Council during that Period, as were moſt remarkable; and which, to prevent breaking off the Thread of our Hiſtory, were purpoſely omitted in their reſpective Series.—They were theſe,

Ordinances paſſed by the Lord Protector and his Council.

An Ordinance *relating to Public Preachers*, whereby it was enacted, 'That no Perſon ſhould thereafter be admitted to a Benefice with Cure of Souls, or allowed to preach any public Lecture, without being firſt approved (as able and fit to preach the Goſpel, by reaſon of the Grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable Converſation, as alſo for his Knowledge and Utterance) by certain Commiſſioners, conſiſting of Eccleſiaſtics and Laymen named in the Act; who were impowered to

to grant Admiſſion by an Inſtrument under their Common Seal, which ſhould be deemed as ſufficient, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as Inſtitution and Induction: That all Patrons of Benefices, then vacant, ſhould preſent within ſix Months; in Default of which the Preſentation, for that Turn, ſhould devolve, by Lapſe, to the Lord Protector: But the Power of theſe Commiſſioners did not extend to Lectures read in the Univerſities: And there was an expreſs Proviſo, That this Ordinance ſhould not be conſtrued as a ſolemn ſetting apart any Perſon to the Office of the Miniſtry; but only to be conſidered as a Means for better ſupplying the Nation with able Preachers, and to capacitate them to receive the public Maintenance appointed by Law.'

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For declaring all Meetings for Cock-fighting to be unlawful Aſſemblies, and puniſhable as ſuch. The Preamble ſets forth, 'That this Kind of Diverſion had been found, by Experience, to tend to the Diſturbance of the Public Peace; was commonly accompanied with Gaming, Drinking, Swearing, Quarrelling, and other diſſolute Practices, to the Diſhonour of God, and Ruin of Families.'

For Pardon and Grace to the People of Scotland, *for all Matters done in relation to the late Wars:* Hereby the Eſtates, Real and Perſonal, of all the *Scots* Nation, except certain Lords and Gentlemen named in the Ordinance, were diſcharged from all Sequeſtrations, Fines, and Forfeitures whatſoever.

For uniting Scotland *into one Commonwealth with* England. By this Ordinance the *Scots* Nation were declared diſcharged of their Allegiance to the *Stuart* Family: Monarchy and the Parliamentary Authority of that Nation were aboliſhed; and, as before obſerved, thirty Repreſentatives were to be ſent from thence to ſit and vote in the Parliament of *England*; and the Arms of *Scotland* were to be empaled with thoſe of the *Engliſh* Commonwealth. All Goods were to paſs as free of Cuſtoms and Duties between *England* and *Scotland*, as they uſed

Inter-regnum. 1654. July.

to do from one Part of *England* to another; and Goods prohibited in *England* were to be ſo in *Scotland*. Taxes to be proportionable; Servitude and Vaſſalage taken away; Heriots and Fines, on Death or Alienation of Eſtates, regulated; Superiorities, Lordſhips, and Juriſdictions aboliſhed; as alſo Military Services, Caſualties, *&c.* And all Forfeitures to eſcheat to the Lord Protector for the Time being.

For erecting Courts Baron in Scotland; *and veſting in Truſtees the Eſtates of Perſons of that Nation excepted from Pardon, for the Public Uſe:* But Proviſion was firſt to be made for the Wives and Children, and Creditors of the Perſons who had ſo forfeited.

For bringing the Public Revenues of the Commonwealth into one Treaſury: The Reaſons given in the Preamble for paſſing this Ordinance, are, 'That, by ſuch Alteration, the Charges ariſing by the Multiplicity of Treaſuries and Receipts might be reduced, the Perſons employed therein brought to a due Account, and the Public Revenues more readily employed, as the Occaſions of the Commonwealth might require.' Then it proceeds to enact, 'That all public Money ſhould be paid into the Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*; that for Payments Tallies ſhould be levied and allowed according to the accuſtomed Courſe; and Monies iſſued by ſuch Officers as the Lord Protector ſhould appoint by his Letters Patent, in which the Fees to be taken ſhould be expreſs'd; and any Officer taking more, was to forfeit his Place, and treble the Value of ſuch Fee: No Money was to be iſſued out of the Exchequer, without a Warrant for that Purpoſe, under the Great or Privy Seal.'

For preventing Challenges, Duels, and all Provocations thereto: Hereby it was enacted, 'That if any Perſon ſhould challenge, or cauſe to be challenged; or accept, or knowingly carry, a Challenge to fight a Duel, he ſhould be committed to Priſon, without Bail, for ſix Months, and give Security for his good Behaviour for one whole Year after;

Perſons

Perſons challenged, not diſcovering it in twenty-four Hours, to be deemed Accepters: Fighting a Duel where Death ſhould enſue, to be adjudged Murder: Fighting a Duel upon a preceding Challenge, being a Second, or aſſiſting therein, though Death ſhould not enſue thereupon, to be baniſhed for Life within one Month after Conviction, and in caſe of Return to ſuffer Death: Perſons uſing provoking Words, or Geſtures, to be indicted; and, if convicted, to be fined, bound to the good Behaviour, and make Reparation to the Party injured, according to his Quality and the Nature of the Offence.' Inter-regnum 1654. Auguſt.

For better regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of the High Court of Chancery. 'The Preamble ſets forth the Occaſion of this Ordinance to be, 'That all Proceedings touching Relief in Equity might be had with leſs Trouble, Expence, and Delay than formerly. And, in order thereto, it was enacted, That there ſhould be Sixty Attornies in Chancery, and no more, to be nominated by the Maſter of the Rolls, and approved by the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, who ſhould ſollicit each Client's Cauſe for the uſual Termly Fee of 3*s.* 4*d.* only.

'The ſix Clerks in Chancery were reduced to three Chief Clerks, who had Power to inſpect the Conduct of the ſeveral Attornies; and, in caſe of Negligence or Unfaithfulneſs, to give Damages to the Party wrong'd, and to diſcharge the Attorney ſo offending from his Place. And all Bills, Anſwers, Pleadings, *&c.* to be filed with that Chief Clerk, to whoſe Office the Attorney towards the Cauſe for the Plaintiff reſpectively belong'd.

'The firſt Proceſs to be a *Subpœna*, which ſhould be open, and contain as many Defendants as the Plaintiff deſired to be inſerted therein; paying only 6*d.* for the Seal, and 1*s.* to the Officer.

'If a Counſel wilfully miſinform'd the Court of any Matter, in the Pleadings or Evidence, whereby an Order ſhould be obtained, which they might afterwards ſee Cauſe to diſcharge, he was to be openly

Inter-regnum 1654. August. openly reprimanded; and, before he ſhould be ſuffered to be heard any more at that Bar, to pay 40*s.* to the Party wrong'd by ſuch Miſinformation, and 20*s.* to the Lord Protector: But if ſuch Miſinformation was owing to the Client or Attorney, they to pay 40*s.* to the Party wrong'd, and be committed by the Court till Payment.

'All Cauſes to be ſet down for hearing in their Order as publiſhed, without preferring one before another; to be ſo preſented by the Chief Clerks, without taking any Fee, and to be heard on the Day ſet down; and, for that Purpoſe, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal to ſit every Afternoon, as well as Forenoon, except *Saturdays*.

'All Cauſes to be heard the next Term after Publication; or, if more than could be diſpatch'd within that Time, to be heard on certain Days appointed for that Purpoſe after Term.

'No Relief to be had, in Chancery, againſt a Bond for Payment of Money only; or, in any Caſe where the Plaintiff was intitled to Relief at Common Law; nor any Decree to be made againſt an Act of Parliament.

'Tables of all the ſeveral Fees to be taken by the Maſter of the Rolls, the Maſters in Chancery, *Subpœna* Office, the Chief Clerks and Attornies, the Regiſters, Examiners, *&c.* were printed in the Ordinance: And any Perſon taking more to be deem'd an Extortioner, puniſhed as ſuch, and alſo diſabled to bear any Office of Truſt or Profit in the Commonwealth. Amongſt theſe Tables of Fees there were two very remarkable *Items:* That no Counſel, under the Degree of a Serjeant at Law, ſhould receive more than 10*s.* for a Motion, and 20*s.* on a Hearing: But the Counſel for the Lord Protector, and Serjeants, were allowed to take double that Fee in both Caſes.

'It was alſo enacted, That no Sum of Money, or other Gratuity, ſhould be taken for the Nomination or Admiſſion of Perſons to any Office in the Appointment of the Court of Chancery, by the Lord Chancellor, Maſter of the Rolls, or any other Su-

Superior Officer; upon Pain of loſing his own Place, and paying double the Value of the Money, *&c.* ſo received; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other to the Party who ſhould ſue for the ſame.' Inter-regnum. 1654. August.

Theſe are ſome of the principal Heads of this very remarkable Ordinance; whereby the whole Practice of the Court of Chancery was, in a great Meaſure, to be thrown into a new Channel: But as our Deſign is only to exhibit an hiſtorical View of the moſt intereſting Laws made by *Cromwell* and his Council, what has already been offer'd may be ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and the reſt we ſhall paſs over with a Reference. [m]

For the Ejection of ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters and Schoolmaſters. Hereby ſeveral Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other Lay-Commiſſioners, were appointed in every County of *England* and *Wales*, with Authority to call before them any public Preacher or Lecturer, having a legal Stipend, and alſo all Schoolmaſters; to receive Articles of Information againſt them; upon Conviction, to eject ſuch whom they ſhould find to be within the Deſcription of this Ordinance, and ſequeſter the Revenues of their reſpective Benefices: The Patron was required to preſent or nominate, within four Months after ſuch Removal, as if the Incumbent were dead; but the Succeſſor was to be approved by theſe Commiſſioners; and, in caſe of Lapſe, the Patronage or Nomination, for that Turn, to devolve to the Lord Protector.—There is indeed one Clauſe of Mercy in this Ordinance, 'whereby the Wife and Children of an ejected Miniſter were to be allow'd one Fifth Share of the neat Produce of the Benefice for his Life:' But this was more than over-balanced by another cruel Clauſe, 'whereby no Miniſter or Schoolmaſter ſhould keep a School in any Place from whence

m This Ordinance, conſiſting of ſixty-ſeven Clauſes, beſides the Tables of Fees, is printed at large in *Scobell's Collections*, and in *Cromwell's Acts and Ordinances*; by referring to which the Reader, who is inclined to compare the Fees then ſettled, and the Rules of Practice, with thoſe of later Times, may ſatisfy his Curioſity.

Inter-regnum. 1654. August.

whence he had been ejected; nor any Perſon to retain or maintain a Schoolmaſter contrary to the Meaning of this Ordinance, under the Penalty of 10*s.* each, *per Diem*, to the Poor of the Pariſh.'

'By the Term *ſcandalous* Miniſters and Schoolmaſters, was to be underſtood ſuch as ſhould be proved guilty of holding blaſphemous and atheiſtical Opinions [n]; of profane Curſing and Swearing, Perjury or Subornation of Perjury; of holding or teaching Popiſh Opinions; of committing Adultery, Fornication, or Drunkenneſs; of common haunting of Taverns or Ale-Houſes; frequent quarrelling or fighting; frequent playing at Cards or Dice; profaning of the Sabbath-Day, and allowing or countenancing the ſame in their Families, Pariſhioners, or Scholars; of publickly and frequently reading or uſing the Common Prayer-Book, or of reviling the ſtrict Profeſſors of Religion and Godlineſs; of encouraging, by Word or Practice, any Whitſun Ales, Wakes, Morris-Dances, May-Poles, Stage-Plays, or ſuch-like licentious Practices; and, laſtly, of declaring, by writing, preaching, or otherwiſe publiſhing, their Diſaffection to the preſent Government.

'Such Miniſters were to be accounted *negligent*, as omitted the public Exerciſes of Preaching and Praying upon the Lord's Day, or that were Non-reſident upon their Cures; and Schoolmaſters who abſented themſelves from their Schools, or wilfully neglected teaching their Scholars.

'What was to be deem'd *Ignorance* and *Inſufficiency* is not defined in the Ordinance: So the Determination thereof was left in the Breaſt of any five of the Lay Commiſſioners, taking five Miniſters of the ſame County to their Aſſiſtance.'—— The partial and barbarous Uſe made of this diſcretionary Power veſted in theſe Commiſſioners, in regard to the Epiſcopal Clergy, is amply ſet forth by a profeſs'd Writer upon this Subject [o].'

For

[n] The Opinions which come under this Denomination are particularly recited in an Act paſſed for that Purpoſe, in *Auguſt*, 1650, which we have given an Abſtract of in our Nineteenth Volume.

[o] *Walker's Hiſtory of the ſuffering Clergy.*

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For the better Maintenance and Encouragement of preaching Miniſters, and for uniting and ſevering of Pariſhes. By this Ordinance Truſtees were appointed and authorized to unite or ſever Pariſhes, in ſuch Manner as ſhould beſt contribute to the competent Maintenance of a Miniſter and the Conveniency of the Pariſhioners: Tho' the Tythes and other Profits were payable to one Miniſter for the Pariſhes ſo united, yet the Churchwardens of each were to be elected diſtinctly as before ſuch Union; and to remain ſo as to all Rates, Taxes, Rights, Privileges, *&c.* but to contribute proportionably to the Support of that Church which ſhould be deem'd fitteſt to ſtand; the other to be pull'd down, and the Materials converted to a joint Stock for repairing of the Fabrick, and to no other Purpoſe. Where the Right of Preſentation was in different Perſons, each Patron to preſent alternately; and if the Revenue of one Benefice was double to that of the other, the Patron of the more valuable Benefice to have two Turns in three. Where a large Pariſh was to be divided, the Truſtees had a Power to fix what Share of the Revenues ſhould be appropriated to the Miniſter of each new Pariſh ſo created: But their Proceedings were to be approved by the Parliament, if ſitting, and, in the Intervals thereof, by the Lord Protector and his Council.'

For enabling ſuch Soldiers as ſerved the Commonwealth in the late Wars, to exerciſe any Trade. By this Ordinance the Act 5. *Eliz.* prohibiting Perſons to follow a Trade who had not ſerved ſeven Years Apprenticeſhip, and all Bye-Laws of Corporations were ſuſpended: A Soldier, ſued for exerciſing any Trade, was, in caſe of a Verdict in his Favour, intitled to double Coſts of Suit.

For appointing Viſitors for both Univerſities, the Schools of Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, *Merchant-Taylors School*, London, and Eaton *College and School.* The Preamble recites, 'That the carrying on and perfecting of the Reformation and Regulation of the Univerſities is a Work very much conducing to

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to the Glory of God and the Public Good: In order to which the Ordinance appoints and authorizes certain Commiſſioners, conſiſting of Lawyers and Gentlemen, the Vice-Chancellors of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the Maſters and Fellows of Colleges, to conſider of the beſt Means for regulating and well-governing the above-mentioned Univerſities and Schools, in Matters of Religion, Manners, Diſcipline, and Exerciſes; alſo to examine what Statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added; to explain ſuch as were ambiguous or obſcure; to determine Appeals; and to propoſe Methods for the better Advancement of Piety, Learning, and good Nurture therein, to be preſented to the Lord Protector and the Parliament for their Approbation.'

We have been the more particular in our Account of theſe Ordinances, becauſe *Cromwell*, in his Speech at opening the enſuing Parliament, refers to ſome of the moſt popular of them, as Evidences of his and his Council's great Care and Regard for the Public Good ſince his taking the Protectorate upon him.

Thus much for the Interval between the Reſignation of *Cromwell*'s firſt Parliament, and the aſſembling of his ſecond, whoſe Proceedings now haſten upon us: For

Meeting of *Cromwell*'s ſecond Parliament.

On the third of *September*, being the Day appointed for the Parliament to meet, tho' *Sunday* [p], the major Part of the Members were preſent in the Afternoon, at the Abbey-Church in *Weſtminſter*, where Mr. *Stephen Marſhall* preached before them upon *Hoſea*, xii. 3, 4. About Four o'Clock they repaired to the Parliament-Houſe, where there appeared about 300. After a-while a Meſſage was brought

p Mr. *Hobbes* imputes this Appointment of the third of *September* to a Superſtitious Choice in *Cromwell*, becauſe *that Day* had been ſo lucky to him at *Dunbar* in 1650, and at *Worceſter*, in 1651. *Hiſtory of the Civil Wars*, p. 257.

brought that the Lord Protector was come by Water from *Whitehall* to the *Painted-Chamber*, and desired their Presence: Whereupon they immediately went thither to his Highness; who standing bare, upon a Pedestal erected for that Purpose, informed them, that on the Morrow Morning there being a Sermon to be preached at the Abbey-Church, where he intended himself to be present, he thought fit to make them acquainted with it; and to let them know he had some Things to communicate to them in Reference to the great Affairs of the Commonwealth, not so fit to be delivered upon that Day, which was not to be taken up in Ceremonies: He therefore desired they would meet him again the next Morning in the same Place. This done, the Members went back to the House, and adjourned to that Time. Accordingly,

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Sept. 4. The Lord Protector came in State from *Whitehall*, to the Abbey-Church in *Westminster*: Some Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare, with the Life-Guards; next before the Coach his Pages and Lackies richly cloathed; on the Right of it went Mr. *Walter Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of Ceremonies, both on Foot; on the other Side, Capt. *Howard* of the Life-Guards. In the Coach with him was his Son *Henry* and Gen. *Lambert*, who both sat bare. After him came *Cleypole*, Master of the Horse, with a Led-Horse richly trapp'd; next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and of the Treasury; divers of the Council in Coaches, and the ordinary Guards.

Alighting at the Abbey-Door, the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four Maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, *Whitlocke* carrying the Purse, and General *Lambert* the Sword, both bare; the rest followed. His Highness was seated over-against the Pulpit, and the Members of Parliament on both Sides of him.

After the Sermon, preached by Mr. *Thomas Goodwyn*, his Highness return'd in the same Equipage,

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page, to the *Painted-Chamber*; where being seat in a Chair of State, advanc'd up ſeveral Step and the Members upon Benches round about, h bare, he put off his Hat, and made the followin ſubtle Speech to them, as Mr. *Whitlocke* very juſtl terms it[p]:

Gentlemen,

His Speech to them at opening the Seſſion.

'YOU are met here on the greateſt Occaſion that, I believe, *England* ever ſaw, having upon your Shoulders the Intereſt of three great Nations, with the Territories belonging to them. And truly, I believe I may ſay it without any Hyperbole, you have upon your Shoulders the Intereſt of all the Chriſtian People in the World; and the Expectation is, that I ſhould let you know, as far as I have Cognizance of it, the Occaſion of your aſſembling together at this Time.

'It hath been very well hinted to you this Day, that you come hither to ſettle the Intereſts before-mentioned; for it will be made of ſo large Extention in the Iſſue and Conſequence of it.

'In the Way and Manner of my ſpeaking to you I ſhall ſtudy Plainneſs, and to ſpeak to you what is Truth, and what is upon my Heart, and what will in ſome Meaſure reach to theſe Concernments.

'After ſo many Changes and Turnings which this Nation hath laboured under, to have ſuch a Day of Hope as this is, and ſuch a Door of Hope opened by God to us, truly, I believe ſome Month ſince, would have been above all our Thoughts.

'I confeſs it would have been worthy of ſuch a Meeting as this is, to have remembered that which was the Riſe, and gave the firſt Beginning to all thoſe Turnings and Toſſings that have been upon theſe Nations: And to have given you a Series of the Tranſactions (not of Men, but) of the Providence of God, all along unto our late Changes

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[p] From the original Edition, printed for *G. Sawbridge*, at the *Bible* on *Ludgate-Hill*, 1654. In the Title Page it is ſaid to have been taken by one who ſtood very near, and publiſhed to prevent Miſtakes.

as alſo the Ground of our firſt Undertaking to oppoſe that Uſurpation and Tyranny that was upon us, both in Civils and Spirituals, and the ſeveral Grounds particularly applicable to the ſeveral Changes that have been. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'But I have two or three Reaſons which divert me from ſuch a Way of proceeding at this Time. If I ſhould have gone in that Way, that which is upon my Heart to have ſaid (which is written there, that if I would blot it out I could not) would have ſpent this Day; the Providences and Diſpenſations of God have been ſo ſtupendous. As *David* ſaid in the like Caſe, Pſalm xl. 5. *Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful Works which thou haſt done; and thy Thoughts which are to us ward, they cannot be reckoned up in Order unto thee: If I would declare and ſpeak of them, they are more than can be numbered.*

'Truly, another Reaſon, new to me, you had To-day in the Sermon. Much Recapitulation of Providence; much Alluſion to a State and Diſpenſation, in reſpect of Diſcipline and Correction; of Mercies and Deliverances; the only Parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the World, which was largely and wiſely held forth to you this Day, *Iſrael*'s bringing out of *Egypt* through a Wilderneſs, by many Signs and Wonders, towards a Place of Reſt; I ſay towards it. And that having been ſo well remonſtrated to you this Day, is another Argument why I ſhall not trouble you with a Recapitulation of thoſe Things; though they are Things that I hope will never be forgotten, becauſe written in better Books than thoſe of Paper; I am perſuaded written in the Heart of every good Man.

'The third Reaſon was this, that which I judge to be the End of your Meeting; the great End; which was likewiſe remembered to you this Day, to wit, healing and ſettling. And the remembering Tranſactions too particularly, perhaps, inſtead of healing, (at leaſt in the Hearts of many of you) may ſet the Wound freſh a-bleeding.

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'I muſt profeſs this to you, whatever Thoughts paſs upon me, that if this Day (that is, this Meeting) prove not healing, what ſhall we do? But, as I ſaid before, ſeeing, I truſt, it is in the Minds of you all, and much more in the Mind of God, which muſt cauſe healing: It muſt be firſt in his Mind, and he being pleaſed to put it into yours, it will be a Day indeed; and ſuch a Day as Generations to come will bleſs you for. I ſay for this, and the other Reaſons, I have forborne to make a particular Remembrance and Enumeration of Things, and of the Manner of the Lord's bringing us through ſo many Changes and Turnings as have paſſed upon us.

'Howbeit, I think it will be more than neceſſary to let you know, at leaſt ſo well as I may, in what Condition this, nay theſe Nations were, when this Government was undertaken.

'For Order's Sake: 'Tis very natural for us to conſider what our Condition was in Civils; in Spirituals. What was our Condition? Every Man's Hand almoſt was againſt his Brother; at leaſt, his Heart: Little regarding any Thing that ſhould cement, and might have a Tendency in it to cauſe us to grow into one. All the Diſpenſations of God, his terrible ones (he having met us in the Way of his Judgment in a Ten-years Civil War, a very ſharp one); his merciful Diſpenſations, they did not, they did not work upon us: But we had our Humours and Intereſts: And indeed I fear our Humours were more than our Intereſts: And certainly, as it fell out in ſuch Caſes, our Paſſions were more than our Judgments.

'Was not every Thing almoſt grown arbitrary? Who knew where, or how, to have Right without ſome Obſtruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almoſt grown arbitrary in every Thing.

'What was the Face that was upon our Affairs as to the Intereſt of the Nation; to the Authority of the Nation; to the Magiſtracy; to the Ranks and Orders of Men, whereby *England* hath been

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known for hundreds of Years? A Nobleman, a Gentleman, a Yeoman; that is a good Intereſt of the Nation, and a great one. The Magiſtracy of the Nation, was it not almoſt trampled under Foot, under Deſpite and Contempt, by Men of Levelling Principles? Inter-regnum. 1654 September.

'I beſeech you, for the Orders of Men and Ranks of Men, did not that Levelling Principle tend to the reducing all to an Equality? Did it think to do ſo? Or did it practiſe towards it for Property and Intereſt? What was the Deſign, but to make the Tenant as liberal a Fortune as the Landlord? which, I think, if obtained, would not have laſted long. The Men of that Principle, after they had ſerved their own Turns, would have cried up Intereſt and Property then faſt enough.

'This Inſtance is inſtead of many, and that it may appear that this Thing did extend far, is manifeſt; becauſe it was a pleaſing Voice to all poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad Men. To my Thinking it is a Conſideration that, in your Endeavours after Settlement, you will be ſo well minded of, that I might well have ſpared this; but let that paſs.

'Indeed in Spiritual Things, the Caſe was more ſad and deplorable; and that was told to you this Day eminently. The prodigious Blaſphemies, Contempt of God and *Chriſt*, denying of him, Contempt of him and his Ordinances, and of the Scriptures: A Spirit viſibly acting thoſe Things foretold by *Peter* and *Jude*; yea, thoſe Things ſpoken of by *Paul* to *Timothy*; who, when he would remember ſome Things to be worſe than the Antichriſtian State, of which he had ſpoken in the firſt to *Timothy*, iv. 1, 2. tells them what ſhould be the Lot and Portion of the laſt Times; and ſays, ſecond to *Timothy* iii. 2, 3, 4. *In the laſt Days perilous Times ſhould come, for Men ſhould be Lovers of their ownſelves, Covetous, Boaſters, Proud, Blaſphemers, diſobedient to Parents, Unthankful*, &c. And when he remembers that of the Anti-

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chriſtian State, he tells them, firſt to *Timothy* iv. 1, 2. *That, in the latter Days*, that State ſhall come in, *wherein there ſhall be a departing from the Faith, and a giving heed to ſeducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils, ſpeaking Lies in Hypocriſy*, &c. By which Deſcription he makes the State of the laſt Times worſe than that under Antichriſt. And ſurely it may well be feared theſe are our Times; for when Men forget all Rules of Law and Nature, and break all the Bonds that fallen Man hath upon him, the Remainder of the Image of God in his Nature, which he cannot blot out, and yet ſhall endeavour to blot out, *having a Form of Godlineſs, without the Power*; theſe are ſad Tokens of the laſt Times.

'And indeed the Character wherewith this Spirit and Principle is deſcribed in that Place, is ſo legible and viſible, that he that runs may read it to be amongſt us; for by ſuch the *Grace of God is turned into Wantonneſs*, and *Chriſt* and the Spirit of God made the Cloak of all Villainy and ſpurious Apprehenſions. And although theſe Things will not be owned publickly, as to Practice, (they being ſo abominable and odious) yet how this Principle extends itſelf, and whence it had its Riſe, makes me to think of a ſecond Sort of Men; who, 'tis true, as I ſaid, will not practiſe nor own theſe Things, yet can tell the Magiſtrate that he hath nothing to do with Men thus holding; for theſe are Matters of Conſcience and Opinion: They are Matters of Religion; what hath the Magiſtrate to do with theſe Things? He is to look to the outward Man, but not to meddle with the inward. And truly it ſo happens, that though theſe Things do break out viſibly to all, yet the Principle wherewith theſe Things are carried on, ſo forbids the Magiſtrate to meddle with them, as it hath hitherto kept the Offenders from Puniſhment.

'Such Conſiderations and Pretenſions of Liberty, Liberty of Conſcience, and Liberty of Subjects, two as glorious Things to be contended for, as any

any God hath given us; yet both these also abused for the patronizing of Villanies, in so much as that it hath been an ordinary Thing to say, and in Dispute to affirm, That it was not in the Magistrate's Power; he had nothing to do with it; not so much as the printing a Bible in the Nation for the Use of the People, lest it be imposed upon the Consciences of Men; for they must receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the Power of the Magistrate, if thus received. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'The aforementioned Abominations did thus swell to this Height amongst us.

'The Axe was laid to the Root of the Ministry. It was Antichristian; it was *Babylonish:* It suffered under such a Judgment, that the Truth of it is, as the Extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this Hand. The Extremity was, That no Man having a good Testimony, having received Gifts from *Christ*, might preach, if not ordained. So now, many on the other Hand affirm, That he who is ordained hath a Nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped upon his Calling, so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard.

'I wish it may not too justly be said, That there was Severity and Sharpness; yea, too much of an imposing Spirit in Matters of Conscience; a Spirit unchristian enough in any Times, most unfit for these; denying Liberty to those who have earned it with their Blood; who have gained Civil Liberty and Religious also for those who would thus impose upon them.

'We may reckon among these our Spiritual Evils, an Evil that hath more Refinedness in it, and more Colour for it, and hath deceived more People of Integrity than the rest have done; for few have been catched with the former Mistakes, but such as have apostatized from their holy Profession; such as, being corrupt in their Consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome Opinions: But, I say, there are others more refined; many honest People, whose Hearts are sincere,

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many of them belonging to God; and that is the miſtaken Notion of the Fifth Monarchy. A Thing pretending more Spirituality than any Thing elſe: A Notion, I hope, we all honour, wait, and hope for, that *Jeſus Chriſt* will have a Time to ſet up his Reign in our Hearts, by ſubduing thoſe Corruptions, and Luſts, and Evils that are there, which reign now more in the World than, I hope, in due Time, they ſhall do; and when more Fulneſs of the Spirit is poured forth to ſubdue Iniquity, and bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs, then will the Approach of that Glory be. The carnal Diviſions and Contentions amongſt Chriſtians, ſo common, are not the Symptoms of that Kingdom.

'But for Men to entitle themſelves, upon this Principle, that they are the only Men to rule Kingdoms, govern Nations, and give Laws to People; to determine of Property, and Liberty, and every Thing elſe, upon ſuch a Pretence as this is; truly, they had need give clear Manifeſtations of God's Preſence with them, before wiſe Men will receive or ſubmit to their Concluſions. Beſides, certainly though many of theſe Men have good Meanings, as I hope in my Soul they have, yet it will be the Wiſdom of all knowing and experienced Chriſtians to do as *Jude* ſaith: When he had reckoned up thoſe horrible Things done upon Pretences, and happily by ſome upon Miſtakes, *Of ſome*, ſays he, *have Compaſſion, making a Difference; others ſave with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.* I fear they will give Opportunity too often for this Exerciſe, and I hope the ſame will be for their Good.

'If Men do but pretend for Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, and be of peaceable Spirits, and will manifeſt this, let them be the Subjects of the Magiſtrate's Encouragement. And if the Magiſtrate, by puniſhing viſible Miſcarriages, ſave them by that Diſcipline, (God having ordained him for that End) I hope it will evidence Love, and no Hatred, to puniſh where there is Cauſe.

'Indeed this is that which doth moſt declare the

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Danger of that Spirit; for if theſe were but Notions, I mean the Inſtances that I have given you both of Civil Conſiderations and Spiritual; if, I ſay, they were but Notions, they were to be let alone. Notions will hurt none but them that have them: But when they come to ſuch Practices, as to tell us, That Liberty and Property are not the Badges of the Kingdom of *Chriſt*; and tell us, That, inſtead of regulating Laws, Laws are to be abrogated, indeed ſubverted; and perhaps would bring in the *Judaical* Law, inſtead of our known Laws ſettled amongſt us: This is worthy of every Magiſtrate's Conſideration; eſpecially where every Stone is turned to bring Confuſion. I think, I ſay, this will be worthy of the Magiſtrate's Conſideration. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'Whilſt theſe Things were in the Midſt of us, and the Nation rent and torn, in Spirit and Principle, from one End to another, after this Sort and Manner I have now told you; Family againſt Family; Huſband againſt Wife; Parents againſt Children; and nothing in the Hearts and Minds of Men but *Overturn*, *Overturn*, *Overturn*, (a Scripture Phraſe very much abuſed, and applied to juſtify unpeaceable Practices by all Men of diſcontented Spirits) the common Adverſary in the mean Time ſleeps not; and our Adverſaries, in Civil and Spiritual Reſpects, did take Advantages at theſe Diviſions and Diſtractions, and did practiſe accordingly in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

'We know very well that Emiſſaries of the *Jeſuits* never came in thoſe Swarms as they have done ſince theſe Things were ſet on Foot. And I tell you, that divers Gentlemen here can bear Witneſs with me, how that they have had a Conſiſtory abroad, that rules all the Affairs of Things in *England*, from an Archbiſhop down to the other Dependents upon him. And they had fixed in *England* (of which we are able to produce the particular Inſtruments in moſt of the Limits of the

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Cathedrals) an Epiſcopal Power, with Archdeacons, &c. And had Perſons authorized to exerciſe and diſtribute thoſe Things, who pervert and deceive the People. And all this, while we were in this ſad and, as I ſaid, deplorable Condition.

'In the mean Time, all Endeavours poſſible were uſed to hinder the Work in *Ireland*, and the Progreſs of the Work of God in *Scotland*, by continual Intelligences and Correſpondences, both at home and abroad; from hence into *Ireland*, and from hence into *Scotland*, Perſons were ſtirred up and encouraged, from theſe Diviſions and Diſcompoſure of Affairs, to do all they could to encourage and foment the War in both theſe Places.

'To add yet to our Miſery: Whilſt we were in this Condition we were in War, deeply engaged in a War with the *Portugueze*; whereby our Trade ceaſed, and the evil Conſequences by that War were manifeſt and very conſiderable.

'And not only this, but we had a War with *Holland*; conſuming our Treaſure, occaſioning a vaſt Burden upon the People; a War that coſt this Nation full as much as the Taxes came unto; the Navy being 160 Ships, which coſt this Nation above 100,000*l.* a Month, beſides the Contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* a Month. That very one War did engage us to ſo great a Charge.

'At the ſame Time alſo we were in a War with *France*. The Advantages that were taken at the Diſcontents and Diviſions among ourſelves, did alſo foment that War; and at leaſt hinder us of an honourable Peace; every Man being confident we could not hold out long. And ſurely they did not calculate amiſs, if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to us. I ſay, at the ſame Time, we had a War with *France*. And beſides the Sufferings, in reſpect of the Trade of the Nation, 'tis moſt evident, that the Purſe of the Nation had not poſſibly been able longer to bear it, by reaſon of the Advantages taken by other States to improve their

their own and ſpoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the Vent thereof; which is the great Staple Commodity of this Nation. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'This was our Condition: Spoil'd in our Trade, and we at this vaſt Expence; thus diſſettled at home, and having theſe Engagements abroad.

'Theſe Things being thus, (as, I am perſuaded, it is not hard to convince every Perſon here they were thus) what a Heap of Confuſions were upon theſe poor Nations? And either Things muſt have been left to have ſunk into the Miſeries theſe Premiſes would ſuppoſe, or a Remedy muſt be applied.

'A Remedy hath been applied: That hath been this Government: A Thing that I ſhall ſay little unto. The Thing is open and viſible to be ſeen and read by all Men; and therefore let it ſpeak for itſelf.

'Only let me ſay this, becauſe I can ſpeak it with Comfort and Confidence before a Greater than you all, that is, before the Lord, That, in the Intention of it, as to the approving our Hearts to God, let Men judge as they pleaſe, it is calculated for the Intereſt of the People; for the Intereſt of the People alone, and for their Good, without Reſpect had to any other Intereſt. And if that be not true, I ſhall be bold to ſay again, let it ſpeak for itſelf.

'Truly I may (I hope humbly before God, and modeſtly before you) ſay ſomewhat on the Behalf of the Government: That is, (not to diſcourſe of the particular Heads of it) to acquaint you a little with the Effects of it; and that not for Oſtentation's Sake, but to the end that I may deal at this Time faithfully with you, by acquainting you with the State of Things, and what Proceedings have been upon this Government, that ſo you may know the State of our Affairs. This is the main End of my putting you to this Trouble.

'It hath had ſome Things in Deſire, and it hath done ſome Things actually. It hath deſired to reform

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form the Laws: I ſay, to reform them; and, for that End, it hath called together Perſons (without Reflection) of as great Ability, and as great Integrity, as are in theſe Nations, to conſider how the Laws might be made plain and ſhort, and leſs chargeable to the People; how to leſſen Expence for the Good of the Nation; and thoſe Things are in Preparation, and Bills prepared, which in due Time, I make no Queſtion, will be tendered to you. There hath been Care taken to put the Adminiſtration of the Laws into the Hands of juſt Men; Men of the moſt known Integrity and Ability.

'The Chancery hath been reform'd, and, I hope, to the juſt Satisfaction of all good Men; and for the Things depending there, which made the Burden and Work of the Honourable Perſons intruſted in thoſe Services beyond their Ability, it hath referr'd many of them to thoſe Places where *Engliſhmen* love to have their Rights tried, the Courts of Law at *Weſtminſter*.

'It hath endeavoured to put a Stop to that heady Way (touched of likewiſe this Day) of every Man making himſelf a Miniſter and a Preacher. It hath endeavoured to ſettle a Way for the Approbation of Men of Piety and Ability for the Diſcharge of that Work: And, I think I may ſay, it hath committed that Work to the Truſt of Perſons, both of the Preſbyterian and Independent Judgments, Men of as known Ability, Piety, and Integrity as, I believe, any this Nation hath. And I believe alſo, that in that Care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themſelves to *Chriſt*, the Nation, and their own Conſciences. And indeed I think if there be any Thing of Quarrel againſt them, it is, (tho' I am not here to juſtify the Proceedings of any) I ſay it is, that they go upon ſuch a Character as the Scripture warrants, to put Men into that great Employment, and to approve Men for it, who are Men that have *received Gifts from him that aſcended up on high, and gave*

gave Gifts for the Work of the Miniſtry, and for the Edifying of the Body of Chriſt. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'It hath taken Care, we hope, for the Expulſion of all thoſe who may be judged any way unfit for this Work; who are ſcandalous, and the common Scorn and Contempt of that Adminiſtration.

'One Thing more this Government hath done: It hath been inſtrumental to call a Free Parliament; which, bleſſed be God, we ſee here this Day: I ſay, a Free Parliament. And that it may continue ſo, I hope is in the Heart and Spirit of every good Man in *England*; ſave ſuch diſcontented Perſons as I have formerly mentioned. It is that which, as I have deſired above my Life, I ſhall deſire to keep it ſo above my Life.

'I did before mention to you the Plunges we were in, in reſpect of Foreign States, by the War with *Portugal*, *France*, the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and the little Aſſurance we had from any of our Neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot it, but indeed it was a Caution upon my Mind, and I deſire that it might be ſo underſtood, that if any Good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we his poor Inſtruments.

'I did inſtance in the Wars which did exhauſt your Treaſure, and put you into ſuch a Condition that you muſt have ſunk therein, if it had continued but a few Months longer: This I dare affirm, if ſtrong Probability can give me a Ground.

'You have now, though it be not the firſt in Time, Peace with *Sweedland*; an Honourable Peace, through the Endeavours of an Honourable Perſon here preſent [f], as the Inſtrument: I ſay, you have an Honourable Peace with a Kingdom that, not many Years ſince, was much a Friend to *France*, and lately, perhaps, inclinable enough to the *Spaniard*. And I believe you expect not very much Good from any of your Catholic Neighbours; nor yet that they would be very willing you ſhould have a good Underſtanding with your Pro-

[f] Mr. *Whitlocke*.

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Proteſtant Friends. Yet, Thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded, and, as I ſaid before, it is an Honourable Peace.

'You have a Peace with the *Danes:* A State that lay contiguous to that Part of this Iſland which hath given us the moſt Trouble. And certainly, if your Enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their Advantage, where it beſt lies, to give you Trouble there. But you have a Peace there, and an Honourable one; Satisfaction for your Merchants Ships, not only to their Content, but to their Rejoicing. I believe you will eaſily know it is ſo.

'You have the *Sound* open; which was obſtructed. That which was, and is, the Strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be ſupplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have any Thing of that Kind at the ſecond Hand, *&c.* you have all Manner of Commerce, and at as much Freedom as the *Dutch* themſelves, there, and at the ſame Rates and Tolls; and, I think I may ſay, by that Peace, they cannot raiſe the ſame upon you.

'You have a Peace with the *Dutch:* A Peace unto which I ſhall ſay little, becauſe ſo well known in the Benefit and Conſequences of it; and I think it was as deſirable and as acceptable to the Spirit of this Nation, as any one Thing that lay before us. And, as I believe, nothing ſo much gratified our Enemies as to ſee us at Odds; ſo, I perſuade myſelf, nothing is of more Terror nor Trouble to them, than to ſee us thus reconciled.

'As a Peace with the Proteſtant States hath much Security in it, ſo it hath as much of Honour and of Aſſurance to the Proteſtant Intereſt abroad; without which no Aſſiſtance can be given thereunto. I wiſh it may be written upon our Hearts to be zealous for that Intereſt; for if ever it were like to come under a Condition of ſuffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's patrimonial Territories, the Endeavour is to drive them out as faſt as they can, and they are neceſſitated to run to Proteſtant States

to

to ſeek their Bread; and by this Conjunction of Intereſts, I hope, you will be in a more fit Capacity to help them: And it begets ſome Reviving of their Spirits that you will help them as Opportunity ſhall ſerve. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'You have a Peace likewiſe with the Crown of *Portugal*; which Peace, though it hung long in Hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace that your Merchants make us believe is of good Concernment to their Trade; their Aſſurance being greater, and ſo their Profit in Trade thither, than to other Places. And this hath been obtained in that Treaty, (which never was ſince the Inquiſition was ſet up there) that our People which trade thither have Liberty of Conſcience.

'Indeed Peace is, as you were well told To-day, deſireable with all Men, as far as it may be had with Conſcience and Honour.

'We are upon a Treaty with *France*. And we may ſay this, that, if God give us Honour in the Eyes of the Nations about us, we have Reaſon to bleſs him for it, and ſo to own it. And I dare ſay that there is not a Nation in *Europe*, but they are very willing to aſk a good Underſtanding with you.'

'I am ſorry I am thus tedious; but I did judge that it was ſomewhat neceſſary to acquaint you with theſe Things. And Things being thus, I hope you will be willing to hear a little again of the ſharp as well as the ſweet: And I ſhould not be faithful to you, nor to the Intereſt of theſe Nations which you and I ſerve, if I ſhould not let you know all.

'As I ſaid before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the Midſt of theſe Diviſions, and Animoſities, and Scatterings: Alſo thus engaged with theſe Enemies round about us, at ſuch a vaſt Charge, 120,000*l.* a Month for the very Fleet; which was the very utmoſt Penny of your Aſſeſſments: Aye, and then all your Treaſure was exhauſted and ſpent when this Government was undertaken; all accidental Ways of bring-

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bringing in Treaſure, to a very inconſiderable Sum, conſumed: That is to ſay, the Lands were ſold; the Treaſures ſpent; Rents, Fee-Farms, King's, Queen's, Princes, Biſhops, Dean and Chapters, Delinquents Lands, ſold. Theſe were ſpent when this Government was undertaken.

'I think it is my Duty to let you know ſo much: And that's the Reaſon why the Taxes do yet lie ſo heavy upon the People; of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a Month for the next three Months. Truly I thought it my Duty to let you know, that though God hath dealt thus with you, yet theſe are but Entrances and Doors of Hope; wherein, through the Bleſſing of God, you may enter into Reſt and Peace; but you are not yet entered.

'You were told To-day of a People brought out of *Egypt* towards the Land of *Canaan*; but thro' Unbelief, Murmuring, Repining, and other Temptations and Sins, wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many Years in the Wilderneſs before they came to the Place of Reſt.

'We are thus far through the Mercy of God. We have Cauſe to take Notice of it that we are not brought into Miſery; but, as I ſaid before, a Door of Hope open. And I may ſay this to you, if the Lord's Bleſſing and his Preſence go along with the Management of Affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the Top-Stone to this Work, and make the Nation happy. But this muſt be by knowing the true State of Affairs; you are yet, like the People under Circumciſion, but raw; your Peaces are but newly made; and it is a Maxim not to be deſpiſed, though Peace be made, yet it is Intereſt that keeps Peace. And I hope you will truſt it no further than you ſee Intereſt upon it: And therefore I wiſh that you may go forward, and not backward; and that you may have the Bleſſing of God upon your Endeavours. It is one of the great Ends of calling this Parliament, that this Ship of the Commonwealth may be

be brought into a ſafe Harbour; which, I aſſure you, it will not well be, without your Counſel and Advice. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'You have great Works upon your Hands. You have *Ireland* to look unto; there is not much done towards the Planting of it, though ſome Things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great Buſineſs to ſettle the Government of that Nation upon fit Terms, ſuch as will bear that Work through.

'You have had likewiſe laid before you the Conſiderations intimating your Peace with ſome foreign States; but yet you have not made Peace with all. And if they ſhould ſee we do not manage our Affairs with that Wiſdom which becomes us, truly we may ſink under Diſadvantages for all that is done. And our Enemies will have their Eyes open and be revived, if they ſee Animoſities amongſt us; which indeed will be their great Advantage.

'I do therefore perſuade you to a ſweet, gracious, and holy Underſtanding of one another, and of your Buſineſs, concerning which you had ſo good Counſel this Day; that indeed, as it rejoiced my Heart to hear it, ſo I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your Spirits; wherein you ſhall have my Prayers. Having ſaid this, and perhaps omitted many other material Things thro' the Frailty of my Memory, I ſhall exerciſe Plainneſs and Freeneſs with you, in telling you, that I have not ſpoken theſe Things as one that aſſumes to himſelf Dominion over you; but as one that doth reſolve to be a Fellow-Servant with you, to the Intereſt of theſe great Affairs, and of the People of theſe Nations. I ſhall therefore trouble you no longer, but deſire you to repair to your Houſe, and to exerciſe your own Liberty in the Choice of a Speaker, that ſo you may loſe no Time in carrying on your Work.'

The Members being return'd to the Houſe, unanimouſly elected for their Speaker *William Lenthall*,

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Lenthall, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls. It is obſervable that altho' *Cromwell* had already exerciſed many Perſonal Acts of Royalty ſince his Advancement to the Protectorate, yet the antient Ceremony of preſenting the Speaker to the King, for his Approbation, was omitted to his Highneſs; ſo that this Officer ſtood ſolely upon the Election of the Houſe.

The Parliament elect their Speaker, &c.

The firſt Reſolution of this Parliament, after the Choice of Mr. *Lenthall* for their Speaker, Mr. *Scobell*, for their Clerk, and Mr. *Birkhead* for their Serjeant at Arms, (all of whom had fill'd thoſe Stations in the Long Parliament) was to appoint a Day of public Faſting and Humiliation, to be obſerved by that Houſe and the whole Nation. The 13th Inſtant was fix'd on for the Parliament, with the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; the 4th of *October* enſuing for all *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*; and the 1ſt of *November* for *Ireland*, to implore the Divine Bleſſing on their Proceedings.

They appoint a Faſt,

Sept. 5. There was a Call of the Houſe, and another appointed to be on that Day three Weeks. They then proceeded to appoint a large Committee for Privileges, of which Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* was Chairman; and ordered, That no Petition againſt any Election of ſuch Members as were already returned for *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, ſhould be received after three Weeks from that Day; and that ſuch Members, who were elected for two or more Places, ſhould declare for which they would ſerve. A Motion being made, That the Houſe ſhould take the Matter of the Government into Conſideration the next Morning, it was agreed to.

And order a Call of the Houſe.

A Motion touching Freedom of Speech in Parliament.

Accordingly the Houſe began with it that Day; and, after long Debate, a Motion was made by Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, That no Act or Ordinance, declaring what Offences are Treaſon, ſhould extend to prejudice the Freedom of Speech in Parliament: But the Houſe dividing upon the previous Queſtion, it paſſed in the Negative by 187 againſt 130. Col. *Fiennes* and Mr. *Lawrence*, Preſident of the Lord Protector's Council, being Tellers for the

the former; Sir *Arthur Hoſelrigge* and Mr. *Scott* for the latter. Then the Lord Protector's Speech being taken into Conſideration, and Mention made of the State of foreign Affairs, the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* took Occaſion to make the following Relation, to the Houſe, of his Negotiations at the Court of *Sweden*.

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Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Whitlocke's* Report to the Houſe of his Negotiations in *Sweden*.

'I Held it my Duty, though the preſent Occaſion had not been offered, to give a clear Account to this Honourable Houſe of that Negotiation wherein I had the Honour to ſerve the Commonwealth lately in *Swedeland*; with the general Tranſactions and Iſſue thereof, and the great Reſpects teſtified to this Commonwealth in thoſe Places, and by thoſe Princes and States beyond the Seas, where I had Occaſion to be during this my Employment; that you may judge of the Succeſs and Advantages thereof.

'I ſhall not mention the great Difficulties and Oppoſition which I met with from ſome in that Court, and from the *Daniſh* and *Dutch* public Miniſters and Party there, whoſe high Intereſt it was to hinder your Alliance with that Crown. Neither ſhall I particularly inſiſt upon, and acquaint you with, the great Dangers both by Sea and Land through which it pleaſed God to bring me, and to preſerve me, leſt I ſhould ſeem to magnify that, which was but my Duty to undergo any Hazards or Perils for your Service.

'Only, Sir, you will give me Leave not to forget the Goodneſs of God to me and my Company, in our great Deliverances, which the Lord was pleaſed to vouchſafe to us; and which I hold myſelf obliged to remember, with all Thankfulneſs to his immediate Hand of Goodneſs to us.

'Sir, Your Servants had extraordinary Reſpect and Civility manifeſted to them, both by the Officers and People of that Country, in their long Journey; and upon their ſafe Arrival at the Court at *Upſale*, by all Sorts of People, of inferior Rank, and

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and of the greateſt ones; even by the greateſt of them all, the Prince Heretier, and by the Queen herſelf, who ſought to make appear her Affection and Regard to this Nation, by her Favours to your Servant, which did much exceed thoſe which ſhe uſually allows to others of the like Condition.

'In our Ceremonies, wherein that Nation are very punctual, I confeſs I was ſomewhat refractory to their Expectations, out of my Zeal to keep up the Honour of my Nation; and even thoſe Things have a great Signification in ſuch Affairs: But they were well paſs'd over, and then we fell to our Buſineſs, wherein I found thoſe with whom I diſcourſed and treated to be full of Experience, Abilities, and Wiſdom; and ſome of them full of Subtilty, and too much inclining to uſe Delays for their particular Advantage, which you will pardon thoſe to take the more Notice of, who were at ſo great a Diſtance from their Country and Relations.

'I thought it behoved me for the Service of my Country, and the better Performance of the Truſt at that Time repoſed in me, to acquaint myſelf, by the beſt Means I could, with the Nature of the People, their Government, the Quality of their Governors, their Religion, Strength, and Trade, and other Matters relating to them.

'This I did not only by ſtudying of Books, but of Men alſo in the Converſation and Treaties which I had with them; and wherein I endeavoured to gain Information of theſe Things from them, added to my own Obſervations on the Place.

'I found the People hardy and ſtout, and the more inured to it by the Sharpneſs of their Climate, which renders them the more able for Military Service.

'They are obedient to their Rulers; but, amongſt their Equals, too much addicted to quarrelling and drinking, that ferments the other.

'They are yet very courteous to Strangers in their travelling and ſojourning, not making a Prey of

of them, nor deceiving them, nor deriding them in their Ignorance of the Country or Language, but affording them all Accommodations for their Money which they expect. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'Their Governors are wise, expert, and politic, keeping their Distance and the Rules of Justice; but they will hardly pardon any Neglect; the Omission of a Ceremony, or not returning a Visit is enough with some of them to break off a Treaty of the greatest Consequence.

'Though they practise much Delay when they judge it their Interest to require it, yet they observe honourably their Capitulations; and though both Rulers and People regard their particular Interest in the first Place, yet it is not with the excluding of Justice and Honesty.

'Their Government is by Municipal Laws and Customs, and by Acts of their Supreme Council, which hath the Legislative Power, and is the same in effect, if not the Original of our Parliament. They have inferior and ordinary Courts of Justice, not unlike to ours in many Particulars: The King hath a great Power, and the Senators under him, and by them the Affairs of the State are managed.

'Though their Government hath great Affinity with ours, yet the People do not enjoy the like Rights and Liberties as, blessed be God, we do in *England:* They are in more Subjection to the Will of their Lords, and their Lords to the Will of their Superiors, though they have more Power over their Tenants and nearer Neighbours than the *English* have.

'Their Laws are clear and few, nor are they covetous to multiply them, which they hold an Error in Government, and Cause of Contention; nor do they allow Debates in Council of any other Matters than what are proposed to them from the King.

'The Paucity of Law-Suits amongst them is because of the Distribution of Estates by a Rule of Law to all Children or Heirs, upon the Death of

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every Anceſtor; ſo that they have ſeldom a Queſtion upon any Will or Conveyance.

'And, by reaſon of the Smallneſs of their Trade, their Contracts are few, and conſequently their Law-Suits; nor will they afford Maintenance for a Profeſſion of Lawyers, or large Salaries for Officers; in general, their Government is wiſe, juſt, and peaceable.

'Their Religion is punctually *Lutheran*, both in Doctrine and Diſcipline; and they are ſo ſevere in it that they will hardly admit a *Papiſt* or *Calviniſt* to live among them, except in ſome few Places, where they permit *Calviniſts* to reſide for Trade's Sake.

'They have a Liturgy much to the ſame Effect, in Words and Ceremonies, with that which was in the *Engliſh* Church; nor will they part with any of the Reſponſals, Ceremonies and Rites, extracted out of the Maſs-Book, or with the Images in their Churches, though ſo little different from thoſe uſed in the Church of *Rome*.

'Their Biſhops, and Superintendents who have the ſame Power, have the like Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical, but not in Temporal Matters, as the *Engliſh* Prelates had; ſo have their inferior (as they alſo call them) Spiritual Courts and Judicatories.

'They allow but ſlender Maintenance to their Clergy; their Metropolitan, the Archbiſhop of *Upſale*, hath not above 2000 Rixdollars, which is not 500*l.* of yearly Revenue; and 100 Rixdollars *per Annum* is an extraordinary Benefice.

'Their Dioceſes and Pariſhes are very large, and Sermons are a Rarity in them; but the Liturgy muſt not be omitted every *Sunday*, and on their many Holidays.

'They have a good Way, upon every Avoidance, to ſupply their Churches; the Inhabitants of every Pariſh where the Miniſter died, or is removed, do meet and chuſe three Deacons, whom they preſent to the Biſhop or Superintendent, who chuſeth one of the three, and ordains him a Prieſt,

Prieſt, and inſtitutes him into the Benefice that is void. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'Their Strength is conſiderable both at Land and at Sea; at Land it conſiſts chiefly in the Bodies of their Men, and in their Arms and Fortifications. Their Men are ſtrong, and the more inured to Hardſhip, by the Coldneſs of their Climate; and to War, by their frequent Expeditions abroad; and they want no Courage nor Obedience to their Superiors.

'Their Arms are made at home, as good and uſeful as any Country hath; they want not Materials of Copper, Steel, and Iron, both for their greater and ſmaller Guns and Swords; and have ſkilful Workmen, and Store of Powder.

'Their Fortifications are not many, except in Frontier Towns and Havens; ſome whereof are ſtrongly and regularly fortified, fully garriſoned, and provided with Copper Great Guns upon their Works.

'They have a ſtanding Militia of 50,000 Men, 12,000 Horſe and 38,000 Foot, and all theſe maintained at a very ſmall Charge to the Crown, and with no Burden to the Country; whereof I ſhall be ready to give you a particular Account, when you ſhall command it.

'Theſe may be drawn together in ten Days, and out of theſe they order forth Soldiers upon any foreign Deſign; which Deſignation is wholly left to the reſpective Landlords, and gives them no ſmall Awe and Subjection from their Tenants.

'Their Strength by Sea ſurpaſſeth their Neighbours; they have many Ships which carry 80, and ſome 100, Copper Guns, well and ſubſtantially built; but not after our excellent Way of Frigates, nor ſo nimble at tacking, or fighting, or the Chaſe, as our Men of War.

'They are not inferior in their Strength at Sea to any Prince or State in theſe Parts, except the *Engliſh* and our Neighbours the *Netherlands*; the greateſt Defect and Want in their Naval Force is as to the Number of their Ships and Mariners.

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'For their Trade it is not great, but they take a Courſe daily to improve it; they underſtand, better than they did formerly, the Conveniences and Advantages they have of Timber for Maſts and building of their Ships; of Iron to fit them; of Copper for their Guns; of the Cheapneſs and Plenty of Pitch and Tar neceſſary for them, and to be had in their own Country; and ſufficient Cordage near them, with their good Harbours on both Sides the *Baltic* Sea, and at *Gottenburgh*.

'They are ſenſible that the Increaſe of Trade increaſeth their Mariners and Shipping, which again increaſeth their Trade; and not only their Merchants but their Great Men engage in a Way of Trade for the Encouragement of it, and find Sweetneſs and Profit in it.

'They already ſend Ships, and plant in the *Weſt-Indies*; and have begun a Trade with their native Commodities to moſt Parts where Trade is to be had, and will in a ſhort Time become conſiderable for Trade; and the more, by the Plenty of their Copper, Iron, Deals, Pitch, and Tar, which now they export themſelves, and know how neceſſary they are for other Nations, and how profitable it is for them to be their own Merchants.

'I have thus ſhortly, and weakly, given you Information of what I learned upon the Place, touching this Nation of the *Swedes* and *Goths*, in relation to themſelves.

'Give me Leave, Sir, now to acquaint you with what I obſerved concerning them, as they may have Relation to an Alliance with this Commonwealth; and to conclude with an Account, in general, of my Negotiation there, and with the Reſpect I met with to this Nation, both from them and others, whilſt I was abroad.

'I look upon them as a Nation, in a perfect Diſtance and Situation, to be the beſt Friends and Allies to you; they are neither ſo near to us as to cauſe Jealouſies from us, nor ſo far diſtant but that they may give a timely Aſſiſtance to us.

'They

'They profeſs the ſame Proteſtant Religion with us; in the Fundamentals they agree with us, and in their Averſeneſs to Popery and the Hierarchy of *Rome*; and are the more likely to keep a firmer Union with us. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'There is great Similitude between their Manners, Laws, Language, and Diſpoſition of the People and the *Engliſh*, and the like Gallantry of their Gentry and Soldiery; Induſtry of their Merchants and Artificers, and Laborioufneſs of their Huſbandmen. They are generally much like the *Engliſh*, and the more likely to correſpond and agree in Amity with us.

'They have Store of Men, Arms, and Shipping, to join with us upon any Occaſion; and whereby both you and they may be ſtrengthened againſt your Enemies, and be the more conſiderable throughout the World.

'They are juſt and faithful in their Actions and Undertakings as the *Engliſh* are, and honourable in their Performances; nor are they engaged to any of our Enemies, or ſuch as you may have Cauſe to ſuſpect; but their Differences and Contentions have rather been with thoſe who have contended with you, and therefore they are the more likely to obſerve their Alliance with you.

'They firſt ſought to his Highneſs and this Commonwealth for an Amity with us, and ſent ſeveral Perſons of Honour, as public Miniſters, hither for that Purpoſe; and their Queen and the preſent King have teſtified great Affection to this Nation, and juſtly expected ſome Return of it from you again.

'Theſe and many other Motives, grounded upon Reaſon and Wiſdom of State, perſuaded thoſe who ſat at the Helm here, to judge it fit to ſend from hence an Ambaſſador to that Crown, to conclude an Amity with them for the Advantage of Trade, and mutual Aſſiſtance of one another.

'Herein their Judgment did not fail them; it was very requiſite to ſend an Ambaſſador thither;

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but perhaps you may ſee a Failure of their Judgment in the Choice of a Perſon ſo unfit for ſo weighty an Employment; yet they would not excuſe him. You will believe he had no Ambition for ſuch a Service, and at ſuch a Time; but he obeyed the Commands of thoſe whom he ſerv'd, undertook the Employment, and can ſay, without Vanity, perform'd his Duty therein, to the utmoſt of his Capacity, with Diligence and Faithfulneſs; and God was pleaſed to own him in it.

'I paſs over the dangerous Voyage by Sea in *November*, through your then Enemies, and the cold Journey by Land in *December*, and come to the Court at *Upſale*, which was ſplendid and high; repleniſh'd not only with gallant Outſides, but with Perſons of great Abilities within, both of the Civil and Military Condition.

'Upon my firſt Ignorance of their Ceremonies, I fell into ſome Diſlike with ſeveral of their Grandees, who thought me not enough ſubmiſſive; others thought the better of me for inſiſting upon the Right of my Nation, vindicating their Honour, and not ſneaking to thoſe with whom I had to do.

'I followed my own Reaſon, and what pleaſed God to direct me for your Service, and in order to the Good of the Proteſtant Intereſt. In my Treaty I applied myſelf upon all Occaſions to the Queen herſelf, and never to the Senate, wherewith her Majeſty was not diſtaſted.

'In the Tranſactions of my Affairs I endeavoured to gain the beſt Intelligence I could from home, and from that Court; and ſpared no Coſt to gain it: The one made me the more conſiderable there; the other was of great Advantage to me in my Negotiation.

'But, Sir, I was to encounter with great Difficulties and Oppoſition; the King of *Denmark*'s Ambaſſador, the *Dutch* Reſident, with all their Party and Friends (ſome of the moſt conſiderable in the Court and Army, and of great Numbers) oppoſed me, and endeavoured to affront me and my

my Company; but by that were no Gainers. The *French*, *Poliſh*, and *German* public Miniſters, as much as they could covertly, ſought to hinder me; but, on the other Side, I found the *Spaniſh* public Miniſter there (who was a Perſon of great Ingenuity, and in much Favour with the Queen) a great Friend and Aſſiſtant to me. Several great Officers of the Army, as General *Wrangel*, the Grave *Horn*, Grave *Wittenburg*, Grave *Bannier*, Grave *Leenhough*, and divers others, were Friends to me; and, of the Civil Officers and other Senators, the Baron *Bundt*, *Steinlorke*, the Grave *Tot*, the Chief Juſtice, the Grave *Braghe*, and chiefly the old Chancellor *Oxenſteirn*, was my chief Friend and Helper in my Buſineſs. Prince *Adolphe*, the preſent King's Brother, was no Ill-willer to it; the King that now is, a great Friend to it, and manifeſted more particular Reſpect to you in the Perſon of your Servant, than he was ever known to do to any of the like Quality, or to any State whatſoever. And the Queen herſelf was reſolved to have the Buſineſs done; ſo much had I gain'd of her Favour, and ſatisfied her of your Intereſt and Reſpects to her. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'But, above all, ſome of my own Countrymen were fierce againſt me, eſpecially thoſe of the *Scots* Nation, both of the Army and Traders, whom I little conſidered, yet knew their Humours, and that they would rail at me in the Morning, and afterwards come to my Table to Dinner; and I cauſed my Officers to welcome them accordingly.

'To counterwork theſe I was not without Friends of my own Nation, whereof divers were of the like Condition; and eminent amongſt them was General *Douglas*, a *Scots* Gentleman, who was very civil to me: So was a true *Engliſh* Gentleman, Major General Sir *George Fleetwood*, a Perſon of great Intereſt and Reſpect in thoſe Parts, with all that know him; he teſtified extraordinary Reſpect and Affection to you, and to your Servant, and was very courteous and helpful to me.

'Thoſe who oppoſed or endeavoured to affront me

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me in your Buſineſs I forbear to name, not for their Sakes, but leſt it might be prejudicial to your Friends there, and to your own future Occaſions.

'But, Sir, we ought to look higher than to the greateſt and wiſeſt of Men: It was the Goodneſs and Mercy of God who gave a Bleſſing to your Proceedings, and a deſired Succeſs to this Treaty; which we ought to acknowledge with humble Thankfulneſs; and the weaker the Inſtruments were, the more his Power and Goodneſs appear'd in it.

'He was pleaſed to give Succeſs to that Negotiation under my Hands; and, after many Delays and Debates, and all the Oppoſition that could be made, to give a Concluſion to it. I made an Alliance betwixt the Commonwealth and that Crown, ratified by the then Queen and the preſent King under their Hands, and under their Great Seal of *Sweden*.

'The Inſtrument thereof I preſented to his Highneſs and his Council at my Return home; who cauſed a ſtrict Peruſal and Examination thereof to be made; and, finding it punctually according to my Inſtructions, did approve of it, and of my poor Service in it; and his Highneſs ratified the other Part of the Treaty, to which the Great Seal of *England* was affix'd; the Tranſcript whereof, with the Original of the other, are at your Command to be produced.

'I ſhall not preſume to judge of the Advantages by this Alliance to this Nation, and to the Proteſtant Intereſt through the World; this Honourable Houſe are beſt able to judge thereof, and of the Duty of their Servant, and his Performance thereof; who ſubmits all to their Wiſdom and favourable Conſtruction.

'And, being now in my Return homewards, give me Leave, Sir, to acquaint you with ſome Paſſages of Reſpect to this Commonwealth in my Journey, both in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Germany*.

'The Magiſtrates and People of *Stockholm* were very reſpectful to your Servants, and General *Wrangel*

Wrangel and Major-General *Fleetwood*, with the Heer *Lagerfeldt*, and others, accompanied me forty *Engliſh* Miles to their chief City. There they freely ſhew'd me not only the ſtately Caſtle, Town, Haven, and Ships, but their Works, Magazines, Arſenal, Work-Houſes for Arms, and Shipping which were very ſtrong and conſiderable. Inter-regnum 1654. September.

'There I had two Ships provided for my Tranſportation over the *Baltick* Sea, and in that on which I went on board, a Vice-Admiral was ſent to command, being a Point of great Honour, and the Ship was richly furniſhed and accommodated for the Voyage.

'After we had paſſed this deep and rough Sea, through great Tempeſts and Dangers, and were arrived near to the Hanſe Town of *Lubeck*, they hearing of it by our Guns, ſent their Coach and Officers to conduct me to their City; where ſome of the chief of their Lords, with their Syndick, or Recorder, came from the reſt to ſalute me; and, in the *Latin* Oration made to me, gave me all welcome to the Place, and highly expreſs'd their Valuation of this Commonwealth.

'I received alſo civil Complements and Salutations from the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Holſtein*, *Courland*, *Lunenburgh*, and other Free Princes of *Germany*, full of Reſpect and Honour to you.

'Here I received likewiſe Reſpect and Ceremonies from the *Engliſh* Company at *Hamburgh*, two Days Journey from this City; who ſent Meſſengers to invite me to their Houſe in *Hamburgh*, and expreſſed all Duty and Reſpect to you as their Superiors.

'In my Land-Journey, which was not without Hardſhip and want of Conveniences, where the Armies had been, in their late Wars betwixt theſe two Hanſe Towns of *Lubeck* and *Hamburgh*, about two Leagues before I came to *Hamburgh*, my Countrymen, of the *Engliſh* Company there, met me upon the Way with about 50 Coaches, and about 200 Horſemen, to welcome me to thoſe Parts. They treated me nobly by the Way, and con-

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conducted me into *Hamburgh*, where the Streets were so crowded with People, that we had a difficult Passage through them; and generally both in their Words and Carriage, they expressed all Civility and Respect unto this Commonwealth.

'The same Evening that I came hither, the Lords of *Dantzick* sent four of their Senators, with their Syndick, to salute and welcome me to their City, and presented me nobly with Provisions of Fish and Flesh, Wine and Beer, for my Hospitality. They congratulated the Success of your Treaty with *Swedeland*, and expressed very high Regard for our Commonwealth: They invited me to Collations, and did me the Honour to come to my Table, and appointed one of their chief Military Officers to shew me the Works and Ammunition of the Town, and others of their own Number to accompany me to their Town-House, and to inform me in Matters relating to their Judicatories.

'Indeed their Fortifications are very strong and regular, and they have great Store of Arms and Ammunition, and give therein a good Pattern for others; as also for Provisions for their Shipping.

'I must do this Right to them, that, both at my coming thither, and during my Stay there, (which was about ten Days) and at my Departure from thence, they did, upon all Occasions, manifest as great an Esteem and Respect for this Commonwealth, as any whom I have met with in foreign Parts.

'Sir, it pleased God to stop our Voyage by contrary Winds, and to thrust us upon the *Elbe* near *Gluckstadt*, a Town of the King of *Denmark*; who, hearing of my being there, sent one of his Senators, the Grave *Rosa de Crys*, Viceroy of *Holstein*, to invite me to his Court.

'The Viceroy came with many Attendants, and not without great Danger by the stormy Weather, on board my Ship, and highly complimented this Commonwealth from his Master; but I, knowing the Course of Treatments in those Parts, excused

excuſed myſelf with the beſt Civility I could from going on Shore; alledging (what was Truth) That no Perſons having the Command of your Ships, as I then had, and being on board them, ought to go from them without Leave, untill his Voyage was finiſhed; and that this was my Condition at that Time. Inter-regn 1654. Septembe

'I had much ado to ſatisfy the Viceroy; but he was well pleaſed with his Treatment, and promiſed to make my Apology to his Maſter, and to do all good Offices with him, to teſtify his Service to this Commonwealth.

'After an extreme dangerous and ſtrong Paſſage betwixt *Hamburgh* and *England*, wherein the Hand of God appeared wonderfully in the Preſervation of your Servants, we all came in Safety to our dear Country.

'Thus, Sir, I have given you an Account of the whole Tranſactions of this Buſineſs; and, for any Errors or Miſcarriage of Mind in the Negotiation, or in this Account I have given you of it, I humbly aſk your Pardon.'

This Speech met with general Applauſe: And a Motion being made, That Mr. *Whitlocke* ſhould have the public Thanks of the Houſe for his good Services done in this hazardous and important Buſineſs of his Embaſſy, the Lord *Broghill* ſpoke much in Commendation of the Treaty, and of the Ambaſſador, and ſeconded the Motion for the public Thanks; adding, That there was a conſiderable Sum of Money due to him, for the Expences of his Ambaſſy; but no Gratuity or Reward given him for his hazardous and great Services done for this Commonwealth: And thereupon moved That 2000 *l.* might be ordered to be paid to Mr. *Whitlocke*, in Satisfaction of all Arrears due to him, and as a Mark of Favour from the Houſe. All which was unanimouſly agreed to [k].

This

[k] The whole of this Affair we give upon the Authority of Mr. *Whitlocke* himſelf, there not being the leaſt Mention of it in the *Commons Journals* of this Day.

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This Affair being over, it was reſolved, That the Subject-Matter of Debate, the next Morning, ſhould be, Whether the Houſe did approve that the Government ſhould be in one Single Perſon and a Parliament? Accordingly,

A Debate whether the Government ſhould be in one Single Perſon and a Parliament:

Sept. 7. The Houſe went upon the foregoing Queſtion: The Protector's Party were for approving the whole Inſtrument of Government at once; but the Republicans were for debating it, Article by Article, in a Committee. Upon this Occaſion a Member ſtood up, and ſhewed 'the Snares that were laid to entrap the People's Privileges;' declaring, 'That as God had made him inſtrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one Perſon, he could not endure to ſee the Nation's Liberties ready to be ſhackled by another, whoſe Right to the Government could be meaſured out no otherwiſe than by the Length of his Sword; which alone emboldened him to command his Commanders [m].' Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Mr. *Scott*, and Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, (particularly the latter, whom the Republicans intended to have choſen for their Speaker) remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the Court Party, as we ſhall henceforth ſtyle them; and were very inſtrumental, ſays *Ludlow*, in opening the Eyes of many young Members, who had never before heard their Intereſts ſo clearly ſtated and aſſerted [n]: Inſomuch that it was carried by a Majority of 141 againſt 136, That the Houſe be Now reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to debate upon the Queſtion, Whether they do approve that the Government ſhall be in one Single Perſon and a Parliament? The Debate upon this grand Affair took up the whole Day and the three following: And tho' the new Courtiers prevailed ſo far as to prevent the Houſe from coming to any Reſolution upon the foregoing Queſtion, yet the Motion for referring it to a Committee being carried.

[m] *The perfect Politician*; or, *A full View of* Cromwell's *Life and Actions*, p. 270, printed in 1659.

[n] *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 500.

ried againſt the Protector's Party in the Houſe, by a Majority of five Voices, it ſo alarm'd his Highneſs, that he began to be jealous leſt his new Parliament ſhould overturn their Maſter, and thought it high Time to look to himſelf. Having therefore given Orders to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to be upon his Guard to prevent Diſturbances in the City, he preſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, deſiring them to meet him in the *Painted-Chamber*. The Members being accordingly come thither, he delivered his Sentiments to them in the following high Terms of Reſentment. Mr. *Whitlocke* has given us only a ſhort Abſtract of this Speech, which contains a ſummary Review and Defence of *Cromwell*'s Conduct, from his firſt Entrance into public Life; a Denial of his contriving, or in the leaſt contributing to, his own Advancement to the Protectorate; his intire Ignorance of the laſt Parliament's intended Reſignation, till he received the Inſtrument of it from them, his Intention then being to have gone into Retirement; his reiterated Refuſal of the Government when offered him, and his Reluctance in accepting it; his Reſolution nevertheleſs not to part with it, ſince his Power had been recognized by the whole Nation, and by Foreign Courts:——But hear him in his own Words°:

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Which gives great Umbrage to the Lord Protector.

Gentlemen,

His reſentful Speech to the Members, on that Occaſion.

'IT is not long ſince I met you in this Place, upon an Occaſion which gave me much more 'Content and Comfort than this doth.

'That which I have to ſay to you now will need 'no Preamble to let me into my Diſcourſe; for 'the Occaſion of this Meeting is plain enough. I 'could have wiſh'd, with all my Heart, there had 'been no Cauſe for it.

'At that Meeting I did acquaint you what the 'firſt Riſe was of this Government which hath 'called you hither; and in the Authority of which 'you came hither. Among other Things that I 'told you of then, I ſaid you were a Free Parliament;

° From the original Edition, printed by the ſame Perſon as the foregoing Speech, and publiſhed for the ſame Reaſons.

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'ment; and ſo you are, whilſt you own the Go-
'vernment and Authority that called you hither;
'for certainly that Word implied a Reciprocation,
'or it implied nothing at all.

'Indeed there was a Reciprocation implied and
'expreſſed; and I think your Actions and Carri-
'ages ought to be ſuitable: But I ſee it will be ne-
'ceſſary for me now a little to magnify my Office;
'which I have not been apt to do. I have been
'of this Mind, I have been always of this Mind,
'ſince firſt I entered upon it, That if God will
'not bear it up, let it ſink. But if a Duty be in-
'cumbent upon me, to bear my Teſtimony unto
'it, (which in Modeſty I have hitherto forborne)
'I am in ſome Meaſure now neceſſitated thereun-
'to: And therefore that will be the Prologue to
'my Diſcourſe.

'I call'd not myſelf to this Place; I ſay again,
'I call'd not myſelf to this Place; of that God is
'Witneſs: And I have many Witneſſes who, I do
'believe, could readily lay down their Lives to
'bear Witneſs to the Truth of that; that is to ſay,
'That I call'd not myſelf to this Place: And, be-
'ing in it, I bear not Witneſs to myſelf; but God
'and the People of theſe Nations have borne Teſ-
'timony to it alſo.

'If my Calling be from God, and my Teſti-
'mony from the People, God and the People ſhall
'take it from me, elſe I will not part with it. I
'ſhould be falſe to the Truſt that God hath placed
'in me, and to the Intereſt of the People of theſe
'Nations, if I ſhould.

'That I call'd not myſelf to this Place, is my
'firſt Aſſertion.

'That I bear not Witneſs to myſelf, but have
'many Witneſſes, is my ſecond.

'Theſe are the two Things I ſhall take the Li-
'berty to ſpeak more fully to you of.

'To make plain and clear that which I have
'ſaid, I muſt take Liberty to look back.

'I was by Birth a Gentleman, living neither in
'any conſiderable Height, nor yet in Obſcurity:

'I

'I have been call'd to ſeveral Employments in the 'Nation: To ſerve in Parliaments; and, becauſe 'I would not be over-tedious, I did endeavour to 'diſcharge the Duty of an honeſt Man in thoſe 'Services, to God and his People's Intereſt, and 'of the Commonwealth; having, when Time 'was, a competent Acceptation in the Hearts of 'Men, and ſome Evidences thereof. I reſolve 'not to recite the Times, and Occaſions, and Op-'portunities that have been appointed me by God 'to ſerve him in, nor the Preſence and Bleſſings 'of God then bearing Teſtimony to me. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'Having had ſome Occaſions to ſee (together 'with my Brethren and Countrymen) a happy Pe-'riod put to our ſharp Wars and Conteſts with the 'then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private Capa-'city, to have reap'd the Fruit and Benefit, together 'with my Brethren, of our hard Labours and Ha-'zards; to wit, the Enjoyment of Peace and Li-'berty, and the Privileges of a Chriſtian and of 'a Man, in ſome Equality with others, according 'as it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to diſpenſe unto me.

'And when, I ſay, God had put an End to our 'Wars, at leaſt brought them to a very hopeful 'Iſſue, very near an End, after *Worceſter* Fight I 'came up to *London* to pay my Service and Duty 'to the Parliament that then ſat; and hoping that 'all Minds would have been diſpoſed to anſwer 'that which ſeemed to be the Mind of God, *viz.* 'to give Peace and Reſt to his People, and eſpe-'cially to thoſe who had bled more than others in 'the carrying on of the Military Affairs, I was 'much diſappointed of my Expectation, for the 'Iſſue did not prove ſo; whatever may be boaſted 'or miſrepreſented, it was not ſo, nor ſo.

'I can ſay, in the Simplicity of my Soul, I love 'not, I love not (I declined it in my former Speech); 'I ſay, I love not to rake into Sores, or to diſco-'ver Nakedneſſes; that which I drive at is this, 'I ſay to you, I hoped to have had Leave to have 'retired to a private Life: I begg'd to be diſmiſſed 'of my Charge; I begg'd it again and again; and

'God

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'God be Judge between me and all Men if I lie in 'this Matter. That I lie not in Matter of Fact, 'is known to very many; but whether I tell a Lie 'in my Heart, as labouring to repreſent to you 'that which was not upon my Heart, I ſay the 'Lord be Judge; let uncharitable Men, that mea-'ſure others by themſelves, judge as they pleaſe. 'As to the Matter of Fact, I ſay it is true. As to 'the Ingenuity and Integrity of my Heart in that 'Deſire, I do appeal, as before, upon the Truth 'of that alſo: But I could not obtain what my 'Soul longed for. And the plain Truth is, I did 'afterwards apprehend that ſome did think (my 'Judgment not ſuiting with theirs) that it could 'not well be. But this, I ſay to you, was between 'God and my Soul; between me and that Aſſem-'bly.

'I confeſs I am in ſome Strait to ſay what I could 'ſay; and what is true of what then followed.

'I preſſed the Parliament, as a Member, to pe-'riod themſelves, once, and again, and again, and 'ten, nay twenty Times over. I told them (for 'I knew it better than any one Man in the Parlia-'ment could know it, becauſe of my Manner of 'Life, which was to run up and down the Nation, 'and ſo might ſee and know the Temper and Spi-'rits of all Men, the beſt of Men) that the Nation 'loathed their ſitting: I knew it. And ſo far as 'I could diſcern, when they were diſſolved, there 'was not ſo much as the Barking of a Dog, or 'any general and viſible Repining at it. You are 'not a few here preſent that can aſſert this as well 'as myſelf.

'And that there was high Cauſe for their Diſ-'ſolution, is moſt evident, not only in regard there 'was a juſt Fear of that Parliament's perpetuating 'themſelves, but becauſe it was their Deſign. 'And had not their Heels been trod upon by Im-'portunities from abroad, even to Threats, I be-'lieve there would never have been Thoughts of 'riſing, or of going out of that Room to the World's 'End.

'I

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'I myſelf was ſounded, and by no mean Perſons 'tempted, and Addreſſes were made to me to that 'very End, that it might have been thus perpetu-'ated: That the vacant Places might be ſupplied 'by new Elections, and ſo continue from Gene-'ration to Generation.

'I have declined, I have declined very much, 'to open theſe Things to you; yet having pro-'ceeded thus far, I muſt tell you, that poor Men, 'under this arbitrary Power, were driven like 'Flocks of Sheep, by forty in a Morning, to the 'Confiſcation of Goods and Eſtates, without any 'Man being able to give a Reaſon that two of them 'had deſerved to forfeit a Shilling. I tell you the 'Truth, and my Soul, and many Perſons whoſe 'Faces I ſee in this Place, were exceedingly grie-'ved at theſe Things, and knew not which Way 'to help it, but by their Mournings, and giving 'their Negatives when Occaſions ſerved.

'I have given you but a Taſte of Miſcarri-'ages. I am confident you have had Opportuni-'ties to hear much more of them; for nothing is 'more obvious. 'Tis true this will be ſaid, That 'there was a Remedy to put an End to this perpe-'tual Parliament endeavoured, by having a future 'Repreſentative. How it was gotten, and by 'what Importunities that was obtained, and how 'unwillingly yeilded unto, is well known.

'What was this Remedy? It was a ſeeming 'Willingneſs to have ſucceſſive Parliaments. What 'was that Succeſſion? It was, that when one Par-'liament had left their Seat, another was to ſit 'down immediately in the room thereof, without 'any Caution to avoid that which was the Danger, '*viz.* perpetuating of the ſame Parliaments; which 'is a Sore now that will ever be running, ſo long 'as Men are ambitious and troubleſome, if a due 'Remedy be not found. So then, what was the 'Buſineſs? It was a Converſion from a Parliament 'that ſhould have been, and was perpetual, to a 'Legiſlative Power always ſitting: And ſo the Li-'berties, and Intereſts, and Lives of People, not

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'The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this 'Government, did conſult divers Days together '(they being of known Integrity and Ability) how 'to frame ſomewhat that might give us Settlement; 'and they did ſo: And that I was not privy to 'their Councils, they know it.

'When they had finiſhed their Model in ſome 'Meaſure, or made a very good Preparation of it, 'it became communicative. They told me that 'except I would undertake the Government, they 'thought Things would hardly come to a Com-'poſure and Settlement; but Blood and Confuſion 'would break in upon us. I denied it again and 'again, as God and thoſe Perſons know; not com-'plimentingly, as they alſo know, and as God 'knows.

'I confeſs, after many Arguments, and after 'the letting of me know that I did not receive any 'Thing that put me into any higher Capacity than 'I was in before; but that it limited me, and 'bound my Hands to act nothing to the Prejudice 'of theſe Nations, without Conſent of a Council, 'untill the Parliament, and then limited by the Par-'liament, as the Act of Government expreſſeth, 'I did accept it.

'I might repeat this again to you, if it were 'needfull; but I think I need not. I was arbitra-'ry in Power, having the Armies in the three Na-'tions under my Command; and truly not very 'ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved then by 'the People, by the good People; and I believe I 'ſhould have been more beloved if they had known 'the Truth, as Things were before God, and in 'themſelves, and before divers of thoſe Gentlemen 'whom I but now mentioned unto you.

'I did, at the Intreaty of divers Perſons of Ho-'nour and Quality, at the Intreaty of very many 'of the chief Officers of the Army then preſent, 'and at their Requeſt, I did accept of the Place 'and Title of Protector; and was in the Preſence of 'the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, 'the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of

Lon-

'Ends of our fighting were attained and ſettled. I ſay, the Authority I had in my Hand being ſo boundleſs as it was, I being, by Act of Parliament, General of all the Forces in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, (in which unlimited Condition I did not deſire to live a Day) did call that Meeting for the Ends before expreſſed. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'What the Event and Iſſue of that Meeting was, we may ſadly remember: It hath much Teaching in it, and I hope will make us all wiſer for the future. But this Meeting not ſucceeding, as I have formerly ſaid to you, and giving ſuch a Diſappointment to our Hopes, I ſhall not now make any Repetition thereof; only the Effect was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, ſigned by very much the major Part of them, expreſſing their Reſigning and Re-delivery of the Power and Authority that was committed to them back again into my Hands: And I can ſay it, in the Preſence of divers Perſons here, that do know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one Tittle of that Reſignation, untill they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my Hands: Of this there are alſo in this Preſence many Witneſſes.

'I received this Reſignation, having formerly uſed my Endeavours and Perſuaſions to keep them together; obſerving their Differences, I thought it my Duty to give Advice to them, that ſo I might prevail with them for Union: But it had the Effect that I told you, and I had my Diſappointment.

'When this was ſo, we were exceedingly to ſeek how to ſettle Things for the future. My Power again, by this Reſignation, was as boundleſs and unlimited as before; all-Things being ſubjected to Arbitrarineſs, and myſelf a Perſon having Power over the three Nations boundleſsly and unlimited; and, upon the Matter, all Government diſſolved, all Civil Adminiſtrations at an End, as will preſently be made appear.

Inter-regnum. 1658. September.

'The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this 'Government, did conſult divers Days together '(they being of known Integrity and Ability) how 'to frame ſomewhat that might give us Settlement; 'and they did ſo: And that I was not privy to 'their Councils, they know it.

'When they had finiſhed their Model in ſome 'Meaſure, or made a very good Preparation of it, 'it became communicative. They told me that 'except I would undertake the Government, they 'thought Things would hardly come to a Com-'poſure and Settlement; but Blood and Confuſion 'would break in upon us. I denied it again and 'again, as God and thoſe Perſons know; not com-'plimentingly, as they alſo know, and as God 'knows.

'I confeſs, after many Arguments, and after 'the letting of me know that I did not receive any 'Thing that put me into any higher Capacity than 'I was in before; but that it limited me, and 'bound my Hands to act nothing to the Prejudice 'of theſe Nations, without Conſent of a Council, 'untill the Parliament, and then limited by the Par-'liament, as the Act of Government expreſſeth, 'I did accept it.

'I might repeat this again to you, if it were 'needfull; but I think I need not. I was arbitra-'ry in Power, having the Armies in the three Na-'tions under my Command; and truly not very 'ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved then by 'the People, by the good People; and I believe I 'ſhould have been more beloved if they had known 'the Truth, as Things were before God, and in 'themſelves, and before divers of thoſe Gentlemen 'whom I but now mentioned unto you.

'I did, at the Intreaty of divers Perſons of Ho-'nour and Quality, at the Intreaty of very many 'of the chief Officers of the Army then preſent, 'and at their Requeſt, I did accept of the Place 'and Title of Protector; and was in the Preſence of 'the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, 'the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Lon-*

'*London*, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citi- Inter-regnum.
'zens, and divers other People and Persons of Qua- 1654.
'lity, *&c.* accompanied to *Westminster-Hall*, September.
'where I took my Oath to this Government.
'This was not done in a Corner; it was open and
'public.

'This Government hath been exercised by a
'Council, with a Desire to be faithful in all Things;
'and, amongst all other Trusts, to be faithful in
'calling this Parliament.

'And thus I have given you a very bare and
'lean Discourse; which truly I have been necessi-
'tated unto, and contracted in, because of the
'Unexpectedness of the Occasion, and because I
'would not quite weary you nor myself: But this
'is a Narrative that discovers to you the Series of
'Providence, and of Transactions leading me into
'this Condition wherein I now stand.

'The next Thing I promised you, wherein I
'hope I shall not be so long, (though I am sure
'this Occasion does require Plainness and Free-
'dom) is, That I brought not myself into this
'Condition, as in my own Apprehension I did not;
'and that I did not, the Things being true which
'I have told you, I submit it to your Judgments,
'and there shall I leave it, let God do what he
'pleaseth: The other Things I say that I am to
'speak to you of, are, That I have not, nor do
'not bear Witness to myself. I am far from al-
'luding to him that said so; yet Truth concerning
'a Member of his he will own, tho' Men do not.

'But I think, if I mistake not, I have a Cloud
'of Witnesses. I think so; let Men be as fro-
'ward as they will. I have Witness within, with-
'out, and above. But I shall speak of them that
'are without, having fully spoken before of the
'Witness above, and the Witness in my own Con-
'science, upon the other Account; because that
'Subject had more Obscurity in it, and I in some
'Sort needed Appeals; and, I trust, might lawful-
'ly make them, as well as take an Oath, where
'Things were not so apt to be made evident. I

Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'judged by any certain known Laws and Power, 'but by an arbitrary Power, which is incident 'and neceſſary to Parliaments: By an arbitrary 'Power, I ſay, to make Men's Eſtates liable to 'Confiſcation, and their Perſons to Impriſonments; 'ſometimes by Laws made after the Fact commit-'ted, often by taking the Judgment, both in ca-'pital and criminal Things, to themſelves; who, 'in former Times, were not known to exerciſe 'ſuch a Judicature.

'This I ſuppoſe was the Caſe, and, in my O-'pinion, the Remedy was fitted to the Diſeaſe; 'eſpecially coming in the Rear of a Parliament, 'ſo exerciſing the Power and Authority as this had 'done but immediately before.

'Truly, I confeſs, upon theſe Grounds, and 'with the Satisfaction of divers other Perſons, ſee-'ing nothing could be had otherwiſe, that Parlia-'ment was diſſolv'd; and we deſiring to ſee if a few 'might have been call'd together for ſome ſhort 'Time, who might put the Nation into ſome Way 'of certain Settlement, did call thoſe Gentlemen 'out of the ſeveral Parts of the Nation for that 'Purpoſe.

'And, as I have appealed to God before you 'already, I know, (and I hope I may ſay it) 'though it be a tender Thing to make Appeals to 'God, yet, in ſuch Exigences as theſe, I truſt it 'will not offend his Majeſty; eſpecially to make 'them before Perſons that know God, and know 'what Conſcience is, and what it is to lie before 'the Lord: I ſay, that as a principal End in calling 'that Aſſembly, was the Settlement of the Nation; 'ſo a chief End to myſelf was, that I might have 'Opportunity to lay down the Power that was in 'my Hands. I ſay to you again, in the Preſence 'of that God who hath bleſſed and been with me in 'all my Adverſities and Succeſſes, that was, as to 'myſelf, my greateſt End. A Deſire perhaps, I am 'afraid, ſinful enough, to be quit of the Power 'God had moſt providentially put into my Hand, 'before he called for it; and before thoſe honeſt

'Ends

'Ends of our fighting were attained and ſettled. I ſay, the Authority I had in my Hand being ſo boundleſs as it was, I being, by Act of Parliament, General of all the Forces in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, (in which unlimited Condition I did not deſire to live a Day) did call that Meeting for the Ends before expreſſed. Inter-re 165 Septer

'What the Event and Iſſue of that Meeting was, we may ſadly remember: It hath much Teaching in it, and I hope will make us all wiſer for the future. But this Meeting not ſucceeding, as I have formerly ſaid to you, and giving ſuch a Diſappointment to our Hopes, I ſhall not now make any Repetition thereof; only the Effect was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, ſigned by very much the major Part of them, expreſſing their Reſigning and Re-delivery of the Power and Authority that was committed to them back again into my Hands: And I can ſay it, in the Preſence of divers Perſons here, that do know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one Tittle of that Reſignation, untill they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my Hands: Of this there are alſo in this Preſence many Witneſſes.

'I received this Reſignation, having formerly uſed my Endeavours and Perſuaſions to keep them together; obſerving their Differences, I thought it my Duty to give Advice to them, that ſo I might prevail with them for Union: But it had the Effect that I told you, and I had my Diſappointment.

'When this was ſo, we were exceedingly to ſeek how to ſettle Things for the future. My Power again, by this Reſignation, was as boundleſs and unlimited as before; all Things being ſubjected to Arbitrarineſs, and myſelf a Perſon having Power over the three Nations boundleſsly and unlimited; and, upon the Matter, all Government diſſolved, all Civil Adminiſtrations at an End, as will preſently be made appear.

Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'under, and teſtified to, this Government, if it 'be diſowned by you.

'I have two or three Witneſſes more, equiva-'lent to all theſe I have reckoned, if I be not miſ-'taken, and greatly miſtaken. If I ſhould ſay, all 'you that are here are my Witneſſes, I ſhould ſay 'no Untruth. I know you are the ſame Perſons 'here that you were in the Country: But I will 'reſerve to ſpeak to this at the laſt; for this will 'be the Iſſue of my Speech.

'I ſay, I have two or three Witneſſes that are 'more than all I have accounted and reckoned be-'fore: For all the People in *England* are my Wit-'neſſes, and many in *Ireland* and *Scotland*. All 'the Sheriffs in *England* are my Witneſſes; and 'all that came in upon the Proceſs iſſued out by 'the Sheriffs are my Witneſſes; yea, the Returns 'of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, not 'a Thing to be blown away with a Breath, the 'Returns on the Behalf of the Inhabitants in the 'Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, all are my Wit-'neſſes of Approbation to the Condition and Place 'I ſtand in.

'And I ſhall now make you my laſt Witneſſes, 'and aſk you whether you came not hither by my 'Writs, directed to the ſeveral Sheriffs, and ſo to 'other Officers in Cities and Liberties, to which 'the People gave Obedience; having alſo had the 'Act of Government communicated to them, to 'which End great Numbers of Copies were ſent 'down, on purpoſe to be communicated to them; 'and the Government alſo required to be diſtinctly 'read unto the People at the Place of Elections, 'to avoid Surprizes; where alſo they ſigned the 'Indenture, with Proviſo, *That the Perſons ſo 'choſen ſhould not have Power to alter the Govern-'ment, as now ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a 'Parliament.*

'And thus I have made good my ſecond Aſſer-'tion. That I bear not Witneſs to myſelf; but the 'good People of *England*, and you all, are my 'Witneſſes.

'Yea,

'Yea, ſurely; and this being ſo, though I told you in my laſt Speech that you were a Free Parliament, yet I thought it was underſtood that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you; and that I was in Poſſeſſion of the Government by a good Right from God and Men. And, I believe, if the learnedſt Men in this Nation were called to ſhew a Precedent ſo clear, ſo many Ways approving of a Government, they would not in all their Search find it. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'I did not, in my other Speech to you, take upon me to juſtify the Government in every Particular, and I told you the Reaſon of it, which was plain: It was public, and had been long publiſhed, that it might be under the moſt ſerious Inſpection of all that pleaſed to peruſe it.

'By what I have ſaid, I have approved myſelf to God and my Conſcience in my Actions, and in this Undertaking; and I have given Cauſe of approving myſelf to every one of your Conſciences in the Sight of God.

'If it be ſo, why ſhould we ſport with it? with a Buſineſs thus ſerious? May not this Character, this Stamp, bear equal Poiſe with any Hereditary Intereſt, which may have, and hath had, in the Common Law, Matters of Diſpute and Trial of Learning; wherein many have exerciſed more Wit, and ſpilt more Blood, than I hope ever to live to ſee or hear of in this Nation?

'I ſay, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, as in the Sight of God, with any Hereditary Intereſt, as being leſs ſubject to thoſe Cracks and Flaws that is commonly incident unto; which Titles have coſt more Blood, in former Times, in this Nation, than we have Leiſure to ſpeak of now.

'Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a Title from God and Men, upon ſuch Accounts as theſe are; although ſome Men be froward, yet that your Judgments who are Perſons ſent from all Parts of the Nation, under the Notion of Ac-

'ceptance

Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'ceptance of the Government; for you to diſ-
'own, or not to own it; for you to act with Par-
'liamentary Authority, eſpecially in the Diſown-
'ing of it, contrary to the very Fundamental
'Things; yea, againſt the very Root itſelf of this
'Eſtabliſhment; to ſit, and not own the Autho-
'rity by which you ſit, is that which, I believe,
'aſtoniſheth more Men than myſelf; and doth as
'dangerouſly diſappoint and diſcompoſe the Na-
'tion, as any Thing could have been invented by
'the greateſt Enemy to our Peace and Welfare, or
'could well have happened.

'It is true, there are ſome Things in the Eſta-
'bliſhment that are Fundamental, and ſome
'Things are not ſo, but are Circumſtantial: Of
'ſuch, no Queſtion but I ſhall eaſily agree to vary
'or leave out, as I ſhall be convinced by Reaſon.
'Some Things are Fundamentals, about which I
'ſhall deal plainly with you: Theſe may not be
'parted with; but will, I truſt, be delivered over
'to Poſterity, as being the Fruits of our Blood
'and Travel.

'The Government by a ſingle Perſon and a Par-
'liament is a Fundamental; it is the *Eſſe*; it is
'Conſtitutive. And for the Perſon, though I may
'ſeem to plead for myſelf, yet I do not; no, nor
'can any reaſonable Man ſay it: But, if the
'Things throughout this Speech be true, I plead
'for this Nation, and all honeſt Men therein, who
'have borne their Teſtimony as aforeſaid, and not
'for myſelf: And if Things ſhould do otherwiſe
'than well, which I would not fear, and the com-
'mon Enemy and diſcontented Perſons take Ad-
'vantage at theſe Diſtractions, the Iſſue will be put
'up before God: Let him own, or let him diſown
'it, as he pleaſes.

'In every Government there muſt be ſomewhat
'Fundamental, ſomewhat like a *Magna Charta*,
'that ſhould be ſtanding, and be unalterable.
'Where there is a Stipulation on one Part, and that
'fully accepted, as appears by what hath been ſaid,
'ſurely

'ſurely a Return ought to be; elſe what does that 'Stipulation ſignify? If I have, upon the Terms 'aforeſaid, undertaken this great Truſt, and exer- 'ciſed it, and, by it, called you, ſurely it ought to 'be owned. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'That Parliaments ſhould not make themſelves 'perpetual, is a Fundamental. Of what Aſſurance 'is a Law to prevent ſo great an Evil, if it lie in 'one or the ſame Legiſlature to unlaw it again? 'Is this like to be laſting? It will be a Rope of 'Sand; it will give no Security; for the ſame Men 'may unbuild what they have built.

'Is not Liberty of Conſcience in Religion a 'Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of 'Conſcience for the Supreme Magiſtrate to exer- 'ciſe his Conſcience in erecting what Form of 'Church-Government he is ſatisfied he ſhould ſet 'up, why ſhould he not give it to others? Liberty 'of Conſcience is a natural Right; and he that 'would have it, ought to give it; having Liberty 'to ſettle what he likes for the Public.

'Indeed that hath been one of the Vanities of 'our Conteſt: Every Sect ſaith, Oh! give me Li- 'berty. But give him it, and, to his Power, he 'will not yield it to any Body elſe. Where is our 'Ingenuity! truly that is a Thing ought to be very 'reciprocal. The Magiſtrate hath his Supre- 'macy, and he may ſettle Religion according to 'his Conſcience. And I may ſay it to you: I can 'ſay it: All the Money of this Nation would not 'have tempted Men to fight, upon ſuch an Ac- 'count as they have engaged, if they had not had 'Hopes of Liberty better than they had from Epiſ- 'copacy, or than would have been afforded them 'from a *Scots* Preſbytery, or an *Engliſh* either; if 'it had made ſuch Steps, or been as ſharp and rigid, 'as it threatened when it was firſt ſet up.

'This, I ſay, is a Fundamental. It ought to 'be ſo: It is for us and the Generations to come. 'And if there be an Abſoluteneſs in the Impoſer, 'without fitting Allowances and Exceptions from 'the Rule, we ſhall have our People driven into

'Wil-

Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'Wildernesses, as they were when those poor and 'afflicted People, that forsook their Estates and In-'heritances here, where they lived plentifully and 'comfortably, for the Enjoyment of their Liber-'ty, were necessitated to go into a vast howling 'Wilderness in *New-England*; where they have, 'for Liberty's Sake, stript themselves of all their 'Comfort, and the full Enjoyment they had, em-'bracing rather Loss of Friends, and Want, than 'to be so ensnared and in Bondage.

'Another, which I had forgotten, is the Militia; 'that is judged a Fundamental, if any Thing be 'so. That it should be well and equally placed, 'is very necessary; for put the absolute Power of the 'Militia into one without a Check, what doth it 'answer? I pray you, what Check is there put 'upon your perpetual Parliaments, if it be wholly 'stript of this? It is equally placed, and Desires 'were to have it so, *viz.* in one Person, and the 'Parliament, sitting the Parliament. What signi-'fies a Provision against perpetuating of Parlia-'ments, if this be solely in them? Whether, with-'out a Check, the Parliament have not Liberty to 'alter the Frame of Government to Aristocracy, to 'Democracy, to Anarchy, to any Thing, if this be 'fully in them? Yea, into all Confusion, and that 'without Remedy? And if this one Thing be 'placed in one, that one, be it Parliament, be it a 'Supreme Governor, they or he hath Power to 'make what they please of all the rest.

'Therefore, if you would have a Balance at all, 'and that some Fundamentals must stand, which 'may be worthy to be delivered over to Posterity, 'truly, I think, it is not unreasonably urged, that 'the Militia should be disposed, as it is laid down 'in the Government; and that it should be so e-'qually placed, that one Person, neither in Parlia-'ment, nor out of Parliament, should have the 'Power of ordering it. The Council are the Tru-'stees of the Commonwealth, in all Intervals of 'Parliaments, who have as absolute a Negative 'upon the Supreme Officer in the said Intervals,

'as

'as the Parliament hath whilſt it is ſitting. It Inter-regnum.
'cannot be made Uſe of, a Man cannot be raiſed, 1654.
'nor a Penny charged upon the People; nothing September.
'done without Conſent of Parliament: And, in
'the Intervals of Parliment, without Conſent of
'the Council, it is not to be exerciſed.

'Give me Leave to ſay, That there is very lit-
'tle Power, none but what is Co-ordinate in the
'Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him that
'hath the Chief Government in that particular:
'He is bound in Strictneſs by the Parliament; and
'out of Parliament, by the Council, that do as
'abſolutely bind him as the Parliament doth when
'the Parliament is ſitting.

'For that of Money; I told you ſome Things
'are Circumſtantials; as to have 200,000*l.* to de-
'fray Civil Officers, to pay the Judges and other
'Officers, defraying the Charges of the Council,
'in ſending their Embaſſies, in keeping Intelligence,
'and doing that which is neceſſary, and for ſupport-
'ing the Governor in Chief: All this is, by the In-
'ſtrument, ſuppoſed and intended: But it is not of
'the *Eſſe* ſo much, and ſo limited, as ſo many Sol-
'diers are, that is 20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horſe.
'Yet, if the Spirits of Men be compoſed, 5006
'Horſe and 10,000 Foot may ſerve. Theſe
'Things are between the Chief Officer and the
'Parliament, to be moderated as Occaſion ſhall
'offer.

'So there are many other circumſtantial Things,
'which are not like the Laws of the *Medes* and
'*Perſians:* But the Things which ſhall be neceſ-
'ſary to deliver over to Poſterity, theſe ſhould be
'unalterable; elſe every ſucceeding Parliament will
'be diſputing to change and alter the Government,
'and we ſhall be as often brought into Confuſion
'as we have Parliaments, and ſo make our Re-
'medy our Diſeaſe. The Lord's Providence, ap-
'pearing Evils, appearing Good, and better Judg-
'ment, will give Occaſion for the ordering of
'Things for the beſt Intereſt of the People; and

'thoſe

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'those Things are the Matter of Conſideration be-
'tween you and me.

'I have indeed almoſt tired myſelf: That which
'I have further to ſay is this, I would it had not
'been needful for me to have called you hither to
'have expoſtulated theſe Things with you, and in
'ſuch a Manner as this is; but Neceſſity hath no
'Law. Feigned Neceſſities, imaginary Neceſſi-
'ties, are the greateſt Cozenage that Men can put
'upon the Providence of God, and make Pre-
'tences to break known Rules by. But it is as
'legal, and as carnal, and as ſtupid, to think that
'there are no Neceſſities that are manifeſt Neceſ-
'ſities, becauſe Neceſſities may be abuſed or feign-
'ed; and, truly, I ſhould be ſo, if I ſhould think
'ſo; and I hope none of you think ſo.

'I ſay, that the wilful Throwings-away of this
'Government, ſuch as it is, ſo owned by God,
'ſo approved by Men, ſo teſtified to, in the Fun-
'damentals of it, as is before mentioned, and that
'in relation to the Good of theſe Nations and Po-
'ſterity; I can ſooner be willing to be rolled into
'my Grave, and buried with Infamy, than I can
'give my Conſent unto.

'You have been called hither together to ſave a
'Nation;—Nations. You had the beſt People
'indeed in the Chriſtian World in your Truſt,
'when you came hither: You had Affairs and
'theſe Nations delivered over to you in Peace and
'Quietneſs: You were, and we all were, put into
'an uninterrupted Poſſeſſion, Nobody making
'Title to us: Through the Bleſſing of God our
'Enemies were hopeleſs and ſcattered: We had
'Peace at home; Peace almoſt with all Neigh-
'bours round about; fit to take Advantages where
'God did adminiſter them.

'To have our Peace and Intereſt, that had thoſe
'Hopes the other Day, thus ſhaken, and under
'ſuch a Confuſion, and we rendered hereby almoſt
'the Scorn and Contempt of thoſe Strangers that
'are amongſt us to negotiate their Maſter's Af-
'fairs;

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'fairs; to give them Opportunity to ſee our Nakedneſs as they do, a People that have been unhinged this Twelve-years-day, and unhinged ſtill, as if Scattering, Diviſion, and Confuſion ſhould come upon us as if it were deſired, which are the greateſt Plagues God ordinarily lays upon Nations for Sin: I would be loath to ſay theſe are Matters of our Delight; but, if not, why not the Matter of our Care, ſo wiſely as we ought by uttermoſt Endeavours to avoid? Nay, when by ſuch Actions as theſe are, theſe poor Nations ſhall be thrown into Heaps of Confuſion, through Blood, and Ruin, and Trouble, upon the ſaddeſt Account that ever was, if Breaking ſhould come upon us, and all becauſe we would not ſettle when we might; when God put it into our Hands! Your Affairs now almoſt ſettled every where; and to have all recoil upon us, and we ourſelves ſhaken in our Affections, looſened from all known and public Intereſts, as I have mentioned to you; who ſhall anſwer for theſe Things to God? Who can anſwer for theſe Things to God, or to Men? To the People that ſent you hither, who look'd for Refreſhment from you; who look'd for nothing but Peace, and Quietneſs, and Reſt, and Settlement? And when we ſhall come to give an Account to them, we ſhall be able to ſay, Oh! we have quarrelled for, and we conteſted for, the Liberty of *England*; wherein, forſooth, for the Liberty of the People? I appeal to the Lord, that the Deſires and Endeavours, and the Things themſelves, will ſpeak for themſelves; that the Liberty of *England*, the Liberty of the People, the avoiding of tyrannous Impoſitions, either upon Men as Men, or Chriſtians as Chriſtians, is made ſo ſafe by this Act of Settlement, that it will ſpeak ſufficiently for itſelf.

'And when it ſhall appear what hath been ſaid and done, and what our Tranſactions have been; for God can diſcover, and no Privilege will hin-

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'der the Lord from diſcovering, no Privilege or 'Condition of Men can hide from the Lord; he 'can, and will, make all manifeſt, if he ſee it for 'his Glory. And when theſe ſhall, by the Provi-'dence of God, be manifeſted, and the People ſhall 'come and ſay, Gentlemen, what Condition are 'we in? We hoped for Light, and behold Dark-'neſs, obſcure Darkneſs. We hoped for Reſt, 'after ten Years Civil Wars, but are plunged into 'deep Confuſion again. Aye, we know theſe Con-'ſequences will come upon us, if God Almighty 'ſhall not find out ſome Way to prevent them.

'I had this Thought within myſelf, that it had 'not been diſhoneſt, nor diſhonourable, not againſt 'true Liberty, no not of Parliaments, when a Par-'liament was ſo choſen, in Purſuance of, in Con-'formity to, and with ſuch an Approbation and 'Conſent to the Government, ſo that he that runs 'might read by what Authority you came hither, 'that an Owning of your Call, and of the Autho-'rity bringing you hither, might have been re-'quired before your Entrance into the Houſe; but 'this was declined, and hath not been done, be-'cauſe I am perſuaded ſcarce any Man could rea-'ſonably doubt you came with contrary Minds. 'And I have Reaſon to believe the People that ſent 'you leaſt doubted thereof at all; and therefore I 'muſt deal plainly with you: What I forbore up-'on a juſt Confidence at firſt, you neceſſitate me 'unto now; that ſeeing the Authority calling you 'is ſo little valued, and ſo much ſlighted, till ſome 'ſuch Aſſurance be given and made known, that 'the Fundamental Intereſt of the Government be 'ſettled and approved, according to the Proviſo 'contained in the Return, and ſuch a Conſent teſ-'tified as will make it appear that the ſame is ac-'cepted, I have cauſed a Stop to be put to your 'Entrance into the Parliament-Houſe.

'I am ſorry, I am ſorry, and I could be ſorry 'to the Death, that there is Cauſe for this: But 'there is Cauſe, and if Things be not ſatisfied that

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'are reaſonably demanded, I, for my Part, ſhall 'do that which becomes me, ſeeking my Counſel 'from God. Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'There is therefore ſomewhat to be offered to 'you, that, I hope, will anſwer, being underſtood 'with the Qualifications that I have told you of; 'reforming Circumſtantials, and agreeing in the 'Subſtance and Fundamentals, which is the Go- 'vernment ſettled, as it is expreſſed in the Inden- 'tures, not to be altered. The making your Minds 'known in that, by giving your Aſſent and Sub- 'ſcription to it, is that which will let you in to act 'thoſe Things as a Parliament, which are for the 'Good of the People. And this Thing ſhewed to 'you, and ſigned as aforeſaid, doth determine the 'Controverſy, and may give a happy Progreſs and 'Iſſue to this Parliament.

'The Place where you may come thus and ſign, 'as many as God ſhall make free thereunto, is in 'the Lobby without the Parliament-Door.

'The Government doth declare, that you have 'a Legiſlative Power without a Negative from me. 'As the Government doth expreſs you may make 'any Laws, and if I give not my Conſent within 'twenty Days to the paſſing your Laws, they are, '*ipſo Facto*, Laws, whether I conſent or no, if not 'contrary to the Government. You have an abſo- 'lute Legiſlative Power in all things that can poſ- 'ſibly concern the Good and Intereſt of the Public; 'and, I think, you may make theſe Nations happy 'by this Settlement; and I, for my Part, ſhall be 'willing to be bound more than I am, in any Thing 'that I may be convinced of may be for the Good of 'the People, in Preſervation of the Cauſe and Inte- 'reſt ſo long contended for.'

The Lord Protector having thus fairly told the Parliament what they were to expect, the Members returned to their Houſe, where they found a Guard placed to prevent their Re-entry, till ſuch Time as they had ſubſcribed the following Recognition; a Copy of which, ingroſſed on Parchment,

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was laid upon a Table in the Lobby for that Purpose, *in hæc Verba:*

Whereupon they subscribe a Recognition of the Government, as settled in One Person and a Parliament,

I do hereby freely promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and shall not, according to the Tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament, propose, or give my Consent, to alter the Government, as it is settled in One Person and a Parliament.*

The Speaker and about 130 Members more subscribed this Recognition forthwith, and resumed their Seats in the House: And then, on account of the next Day being the Fast, adjourned to the 14th.

Not the least Notice is taken of this high Infringement of the Liberties of Parliament in the *Journals:* And the only Entry made therein on the 12th (the Day that *Cromwell* put this Force upon the Members) is the Adjournment to the 14th. In the Proceedings of which Day we find a Vote of the House, that seems to have been pass'd with no other Intent than to explain away, in great Measure, the Recognition they had been compell'd to subscribe, *viz.*

'*Resolved*, That some Members of the House be appointed immediately to withdraw; and, upon the present Debate and Sense of the House, for further Satisfaction in reference to the Subscription, to prepare somewhat to be offered to them for their further Consideration. Soon after the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, from the said Committee, reported a Paper, containing these Words, *viz.*

'The Parliament doth declare, That the Recognition of the Government by the Members of this Parliament, in the Words following, *viz.* [*Here follows the Form as before given*] doth not comprehend, nor shall be construed to comprehend, therein the whole Government, consisting of forty-two Articles; but that the same doth only include what

what concerns the Government of the Commonwealth, by a Single Perſon and ſucceſſive Parliaments.' Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

This Declaration being ſeveral Times read in the Houſe, was, upon the Queſtion, paſſed, without any Diviſion, and ordered to be forthwith printed and publiſhed: And the ſame Day the Recognition was ſubſcribed by 193 Members more.

Tho' the Parliament had been compelled, by Force of Arms, to ſign the Recognition required by *Cromwell*; which is the Reaſon, probably, why the whole Tranſaction of the 12th, relating to his Highneſs's Speech; the Guard ſet upon the Door of the Houſe to prevent their Re-entry; and the Subſcription made on the 12th and 14th, are wholly omitted in the *Journals*; yet it ſeems, by thoſe Authorities, as if the Members were deſirous to put the beſt Face they could upon the Matter, and ſave their own Honour by repreſenting that to the Public as the Reſult of their Choice, which was the meer Effect of Neceſſity: For,

Sept. 18. The Houſe reſolved, 'That all Perſons returned, or who ſhall be returned, to ſerve in this Parliament, ſhall, before they be admitted to ſit in the Houſe, ſubſcribe the Recognition of the Government; and that it be done in the Preſence of any two Members who had ſubſcribed it before.'

The next Thing done was to read a Declaration for obſerving another Day of ſolemn Humiliation.—Whether the ſecret Motive for this Faſt was to requeſt the Aſſiſtance of Heaven to protect them from *Cromwell*'s farther Infringement of their Privileges, or to implore the Divine Mercy upon themſelves for thus ſubſcribing a Promiſe to ſupport what it appears, by the following Proceedings, moſt of them meant to overturn, we know not: But the public Reaſons they gave for appointing a ſecond General Faſt ſo ſoon after keeping the firſt, will beſt

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appear by the Declaration itſelf; which being paſs'd by the Houſe, a Committee was appointed to attend the Lord Protector therewith. And the next Day the Earl of *Saliſbury* having reported his Highneſs's Concurrence, the Declaration was ordered to be printed and publiſhed as follows:

And paſs a Declaration, with Reaſons for obſerving another general Faſt.

'WHO is ſuch a Stranger in our *Iſrael*, 'that hath not taken Notice of the great 'Things God hath brought to paſs amongſt us by 'his out-ſtretched Arm? What Nation is there 'who hath had God more nigh unto them, than 'the Lord our God hath been to us, in all Things 'we have called unto him for? Aſk of the Days 'that are paſt, which have been before us in theſe 'latter Ages, whether there has been any ſuch 'Thing as thoſe many Bleſſings and ſignal Deli-'verances vouchſafed to us from his own Hand, in 'Anſwer to the Voice of Tears and Blood that 'have been poured forth?

'But, in the mean while, this is Matter of 'great Lamentation; whilſt God, by a continual 'Series of his Loving-kindneſſes and Providences, 'hath multiplied Mercies and Forgiveneſſes to us, 'we of theſe Nations, inſtead of an anſwerable 'Return of Thankfulneſs and Obedience, have, 'as the higheſt Aggravation of our Sin, multiplied 'our Provocations againſt him;

'In that general Ignorance, Unthankfulneſs, 'and Unfruitfulneſs, under all thoſe Dews of Grace 'and Goſpel-Mercies;

'In not acknowledging fully, to this very Day, 'our Calamities to have come upon us from the 'Hands of God alone, provoked by us, who uſeth 'what Inſtruments he pleaſeth to execute his In-'dignation;

'In not bemoaning ourſelves as Sons, and ſmi-'ting upon our Thighs with *Ephraim*, in the Senſe 'of our own Iniquities, and of the Patience and 'forbearing Mercies of our Heavenly Father;

'In that profane, ſenſual, worldly, formal, and '*Laodicean* Spirit generally amongſt us; ſome ha-

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'ting the Power of Godlineſs, and deſpiſing the true 'Profeſſors thereof, for having the Image of God 'upon them; and others, by being looſe in their 'Opinions and Practices, have turned the Grace 'of God into Wantonneſs; Inter-regnum. 1654. September.

'In that great Neglect and Want of Zeal and 'Courage in Magiſtrates, and other Officers and 'Perſons therein concerned, to ſuppreſs Enormi-'ties, in Conſcience to perform the Duty incum-'bent upon them to God and Man.

'All which, with other the crying Sins of theſe 'three Nations, call aloud upon us, that as we are 'now united to be one Commonwealth under one 'Government, ſo having been ſinful and Sufferers 'together, we would, with one Heart and Lip, be 'perſuaded to unite in our humble and ſerious 'Addreſſes and Supplications to Almighty God:

'That the Fruit of all our Mercies might not 'be, with *Jeſurun*, to kick or to be found Fight-'ers againſt him, nor Oppoſers of his Will, as if 'we were preſerved to commit yet more Abomi-'nations:

'That we may wreſtle and prevail with him for 'Pardon and Removal of our Darkneſs, Vanities, 'Blaſphemies, and Profaneneſs, with all that 'Worldly-mindedneſs, Formality, and other Abo-'minations, which are yet found amongſt us under 'the glorious Light of the Goſpel:

'That as God hath been pleaſed to make 'Choice of theſe Iſlands, wherein to manifeſt 'many great and glorious Things, ſo he would 'anſwerably make us a choſen Generation, and a 'peculiar People, that, in Thankfulneſs to him, 'and Example to others, we might ſhew forth his 'Praiſes who hath ſeparated us from other Nations, 'and called us out of Darkneſs into his Light:

'That God would now ſpeak with a ſtrong 'Hand to quiet the Spirits of Men that are apt to 'murmur, by cauſing them clearly to ſee where 'the true and ſpiritual Intereſt of Chriſtians lieth, 'and that in keeping cloſe thereunto is wrapt up 'their Safety; that ſo, when he uttereth his Voice,

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'all Fleſh may be ſilent before him, and know 'that he is raiſed out of his holy Habitation:

'That tho' he hath had juſt Cauſe to be angry 'with us for our Murmurings, Backſlidings, and 'other Iniquities, and hath therefore ſmitten us, yet 'that he would now heal us, and reſtore Comfort 'to us and our Mourners:

'And eſpecially that God would enable the 'Rulers of theſe Nations, now in Conſultation 'about their Peace, Settlement, and Welfare, to 'proceed with Faithfulneſs, Zeal, Wiſdom, and 'Union, to fulfill the End of their being call'd to-'gether; and to be ſuch, and do ſuch Things for 'the Intereſt of *Chriſt* and his Members, and for 'the Good of all the People, as they ought, and 'as he hath promiſed Governors ſhould be, and 'do, in Subſerviency to thoſe glorious Ends: That 'ſo, at laſt, through the Goodneſs and Mercy of 'our God, theſe three Nations, after ſo great and 'various Revolutions, may be eſtabliſhed together 'upon the ſure Foundations of Truth, Righteouſ-'neſs, and Peace.

'It is therefore declared by his Highneſs the Lord 'Protector, and the Parliament of the Common-'wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, That, 'for the Ends and Purpoſes aforeſaid, they appoint '*Wedneſday*, the 11th of *October* next, for a Day of 'ſolemn Humiliation and ſeeking the Face of God, 'thro' the Mediation of *Chriſt*, in all Places with-'in *England* and *Scotland*; and *Wedneſday*, the firſt 'Day of *November* next, in all Places in *Ireland*. 'And do therefore hereby incite and encourage all 'ſuch whoſe Hearts God ſhall perſuade and make 'ſenſible of their Duty, and of the Common-'wealth's preſent Condition, that the reſpective 'Days aforeſaid be ſet apart by them for the Pur-'poſes aforeſaid: Whereof the Miniſters and 'Preachers of the reſpective Pariſhes and Congre-'gations are to take Notice.

HENRY SCOBELL,
Clerk of the Parliament.

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The Clerk of the Parliament having, by Order of the Houſe, brought in the original Record of the Government of the Commonwealth, as it had been drawn up by the Protector and his Council, it was read, and the Debate upon it ordered to begin on the 19th. Accordingly the firſt Article of it was read in a Committee of the whole Houſe, and debated all that Day; and it was agreed to begin with it again the next Morning; and thus the Debate continued on each particular Article, *de Die in Diem*, all the reſt of this Month, without coming to any Reſolution about it. Inter-regnum, 1654. October. The Houſe reſume the Debate on the Government.

It is Pity the Speeches made on this Occaſion were not preſerved at Length, that the preſent Age might have ſeen what Sort of Courtiers and Anti-Courtiers were then exiſting. But nothing of this Nature being now extant, what ſmall Remains there are can only be pick'd out of the Journaliſts and other Contemporary Writers of theſe Times.

During the Time of this grand Debate on theſe important Articles, few other Things of Moment were done, except that a Bill had been brought in for appointing a Recognition of the preſent Government, to be ſubſcribed by Members of Parliament; which, on the 25th, was read a ſecond Time, and committed to a very large Number of the Members to report their Opinion of it to the Houſe. But we hear no more of it.

October. This Month began, as the laſt ended, with the Debate on the Government, which was carried on from Day to Day, and nothing elſe done but regulating the Returns of ſome Elections; ordering a Bill for the Reduction of the Forces by Land and Sea; and referring the late Ordinance, for regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of the Court of Chancery, and the Matters therein, to a Committee: Nay, ſo urgent was the Houſe to bring this grand Affair of Government to a Concluſion, that, on the 4th, a Queſtion being put that the Speaker do take the Chair two Days every

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every Week, on other Buſineſs, it paſs'd in the Negative without any Diviſion.

Oct. 10. The Houſe reſolved to take into their Conſideration the Ordinances made by the Lord Protector and his Council, and referred it to a Committee to review them all, together with ſuch Laws, Ordinances, and Acts as had been made by the late Parliament, from the 3d of *July*, 1653, to the 10th of *December* following.

The Houſe ſtill continued their Debate upon the Government. Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 'That on the 19th the Diſpute was, Whether the Government in a Single Perſon, as Protector of the Commonwealth, ſhould be Elective or Hereditary;' which is confirmed by the Letters of the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, about this Time [m], to their reſpective Courts: Theſe Authorities inform us, That, in this Debate, Major-General *Lambert*, in a long Speech, endeavoured to perſuade the Parliament that it was neceſſary to make the Office of Protector Hereditary; but that, upon the Queſtion being put, it paſſed in the Negative by 200 againſt 60; which greatly ſurprized the Public and the Family of the Lord Protector, who thought himſelf ſure, the Day before, of perpetuating this Dignity to his own Iſſue.—But we find no Mention of any ſuch Debate or Diviſion in the *Journals*.

Oct. 24. A Letter from the Lord Protector, touching the Officers he had named, for their Approbation, being read in the Houſe, they voted, That the Parliament did approve of *Charles Fleetwood*, Eſq; to be Deputy of *Ireland*; *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Serjeant at Law, and *John Liſle*, Eſq; to be Lords Commiſſioners for the Great Seal, and Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; *Henry Rolle*, Eſq; to be Lord Chief

[m] A Letter from M. *de Bordeaux* to Count *Brienne*, and from *Beverning* and *Nieuport* to the *States General*.
Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 681, 4, 5.

Chief Juſtice of the Upper Bench; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; alſo *Edward Montague* and *William Sydenham*, Eſq^rs. to be Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. Inter-regnum. 1654. November.

November. The Houſe went on ſtill with their Debates on Government, no other Buſineſs of any Conſequence interfering, nor any Report made till the 7th of this Month; when Mr. *Hoſkins* delivered in the following Reſolutions:

At the Committee of the whole Houſe upon the Government, September 19, 1654.

'*Reſolved*, That the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and doth reſide in One Perſon and the People aſſembled in Parliament; with this Declaration, That this Vote ſhall not be prejudicial to any further Debate or Reſolution, touching the Remainder of the forty-two Articles.'

'*Reſolved*, That the Style of ſuch Perſon ſhall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

September 20, 1654.

'*Reſolved*, That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, is and ſhall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, for his Life.

'*Reſolved*, That a Parliament ſhall be ſummoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Diſſolution of the next preceding Parliament.'

We do not find that theſe Reſolutions were confirm'd by the Houſe this Day: They were interrupted by one Col. *Shapcot*, a Member, who complained of, and delivered into the Houſe, a printed Pamphlet, intitled, *The Speech of Col.* Shapcot, *a Knight of* Devonſhire. On the reading of the Houſe voted it to be treacherous, fal dalous, and ſeditious; and afterwards ch

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Word *treacherous* into *treaſonable*. They ordered the Committee for Printing to inquire after the Authors, Printers, and Publiſhers of this Pamphlet with great Strictneſs, and report what they found to the Houſe.

Nov. 10. Now comes on a ſtrong Conteſt, between the Protector's Party and the Republicans, on the firſt of the foregoing Reſolutions and the ſaving Clauſe at the End of it; for, this Day, the Queſtion being put, That the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of this Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and ſhall reſide in one Single Perſon and the People aſſembled in Parliament; and that theſe Words be added to that Queſtion, 'That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament ſhall 'be preſented to the Lord Protector for his Con-'ſent: And, in caſe he ſhall not give his Conſent 'thereunto within twenty Days after they ſhall be 'preſented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Par-'liament within the Time limited, then ſuch Bills 'ſhall paſs into and become Laws, although he 'ſhall not conſent thereunto. Provided that ſuch 'Bills contain nothing in them contrary to ſuch 'Matters wherein the Parliament ſhall think fit to 'give a Negative to the Lord Protector,' it was carried in the Affirmative, by 109 againſt 85; Sir *Charles Wolſeley* and Lord *Broghill* being Tellers for the latter; Sir *Richard Onſlow* and Col. *Birch* for the former; but the Houſe calling to have the Vote read again, another Debate aroſe, and the Queſtion being put Whether Candles ſhould be brought in? the Houſe divided into Yeas 85, Noes 76; and Candles were brought in accordingly.

The Vote being now read again, Exceptions were taken to ſome Words in it, and debated; till at laſt it was reſolved, That inſtead of theſe Words in the ſame Vote, *the Lord Protector*, the Words, *the ſaid Single Perſon*, ſhould be inſerted: And the Queſtion being put, That inſtead of theſe Words, *the Parliament ſhall think fit to give a Ne-*

Negative to the Lord Protector, theſe Words be inſerted, *wherein the Single Perſon and a Parliament ſhall declare a Negative to be in the ſaid Single Perſon:* But it growing very late, the Debate was adjourned to next Morning; when both theſe Alterations were agreed to without any Diviſion; and then the whole Vote ſtood thus: Inter-regnum. 1654. November.

'*Reſolved*, That the Supreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, is and ſhall reſide in One Perſon and the People aſſembled in Parliament; and that all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, ſhall be preſented to the ſaid Single Perſon for his Conſent: And in caſe he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto within twenty Days after they ſhall be preſented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited, that then ſuch Bills ſhall paſs into and become Laws, altho' he ſhall not conſent thereunto. Provided ſuch Bills contain nothing in them contrary to ſuch Matters wherein the Single Perſon and a Parliament ſhall declare a Negative to be in the ſaid Single Perſon.'

The Houſe went on ſtill in their Debates on this Affair; and, on the 14th, came to another Reſolution, 'That if any Bill be tendered, at any Time hereafter, to alter the Foundation and Conſtitution of the Government of this Commonwealth, from a Single Perſon and a Parliament, that to ſuch Bills the Single Perſon ſhall have a Negative.'

The next Day they voted again, 'That if any Bills ſhall be tendered, at any Time hereafter, for the Continuance of any Parliament for any longer Time than for ſix Months after the firſt Meeting, that ſuch Bills ſhall not become Laws, without the Conſent of the Single Perſon.

However, on the 16th, and ſome Days following, *Cromwell*'s Party carried their Point in the Houſe, and had the Words *Single Perſon* changed for *Protector*, *&c.* by the following Reſolutions:

1. 'That

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1. 'That the Style of ſuch Single Perſon ſhall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

2. 'That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, is and ſhall be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his Life: And that, by Conſent of Parliament, if then ſitting, and not otherwiſe, he ſhall diſpoſe of and employ the Forces of this Commonwealth, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the ſame.

3. 'That the Lord Protector for the Time being ſhall be aſſiſted by a Council.

4. 'That ſuch of the ſtanding Forces of this Commonwealth, as ſhall be agreed to be continued upon the Charge of the Commonwealth, in the Interval of Parliament, ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed of for the Ends aforeſaid, in ſuch Intervals, by the preſent Lord Protector during his Life, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid Council, and not otherwiſe. And,

5. 'That after his Death, in the Interval of Parliament, the Forces ſhall be ordered by the ſaid Council, for the ſame Ends, untill a Parliament be aſſembled, who is then to diſpoſe of the ſaid Forces as they ſhall think fit.'

Thus did the Houſe go drudging on, from Day to Day, in ſettling their new Form of Government; the Protector's Party carrying a Queſtion one Time; the Republicans another; and ſo on, *vice verſa*. The *Journals* are very intricate and dark in deſcribing theſe various Proceedings.—— What Plan of Government was attempted to be eſtabliſhed will beſt appear from the following Reſolutions, agreed to in each Day's Debate.

Nov. 23. *Reſolved*, 'That the Laws of this Commonwealth ſhall not be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Impoſition laid upon the People,

People, but by common Conſent of the People aſ- Inter-regnum. 1654.
embled in Parliament.' November.

Nov. 24. After the Chairman had reported the Form of an Oath to be adminiſtered to the Lord Protector, and another for his Council, as agreed on by the Committee of the whole Houſe, it was reſolved,

1. 'That a Parliament be ſummoned to meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter*, the third *Monday* of *October*, 1656; alſo upon the third *Monday* in *October*, 1659; and likewiſe on the third *Monday* in *October* every third Year ſucceſſively.

2. 'That neither this preſent Parliament, nor the Parliament which ſhall be ſummoned to meet on the third *Monday* of *October*, 1656; nor the Parliament that ſhall be ſummoned to meet on the third *Monday* of *October*, 1659; nor any ſucceeding Triennial Parliament ſhall, during the Time of ſix Months from the Day of their firſt Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent; nor have Power to continue to ſit above ſix Months, without the Lord Protector's Conſent, to be by Act of Parliament; in which Act there ſhall be a limited Time for their ſitting, not exceeding three Months.

3. 'That the Lord Protector, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, ſhall, at any other Time than is before expreſſed, when the Neceſſities of the State ſhall require it, ſummon Parliaments in Manner hereby expreſſed; which ſhall not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent, during the firſt three Months of their ſitting; nor ſhall have Power to continue to ſit beyond that Time, without the Conſent of the Lord Protector, to be by Act of Parliament; in which Act there ſhall be a limited Time for their ſitting, not exceeding one Month: Provided, That ſuch Parliament ſhall end and be determined before the ſummoning ſuch Parliaments as are before hereby appointed.

4. 'That

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4. 'That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ, under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs and other Officers, according to Law, of the several and respective Counties and Places, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal shall seal, issue, and send abroad, by Warrant from the Lord Protector, in Manner and Form following:

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

To the Sheriff of the County of Greeting.

WHereas in the Parliament held at Westminster, *the third Day of* September, 1654, *it is, amongst other Things, enacted, That Parliaments shall be duly held, in such Manner as is therein expressed: Now, to the end that a Parliament be held at the City of* Westminster, *the Day of next coming, there for Us to consult with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the said Commonwealth, on the weighty and urgent Affairs concerning Us, the State, and Defence of the said Commonwealth, and the Maintenance of the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the Purity thereof: We do command you, firmly enjoining, that, Proclamation being made of the Day and Place aforesaid, in every Market-Town within your County, you cause, according to the Form of the said Statute, to be freely and indifferently chosen by them who shall be present at such Election, of the most fit and discreet Persons, to serve as Knights, with their Swords girt, for the County of ; and for the City of , Citizens of the more discreet and sufficient; and for the Borough of , Burgesses of the more discreet and sufficient: And the Names of the same Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses so to be chosen, whether present or absent, you cause to be certified in certain Indentures thereupon to be made between you and them, who shall be present at such*

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ſuch Choice: And that you cauſe them to come at the Day and Place aforeſaid, ſo that the ſaid Knights ſeverally may have full and ſufficient Power for themſelves and the People of that County, and the ſaid Citizens and Burgeſſes, ſeverally, for themſelves and the People of the Cities and Boroughs aforeſaid, to do and conſent unto thoſe Things which, then and there, by Common Council of the ſaid Commonwealth in Parliament, by God's Bleſſing, ſhall be ordained upon the weighty Affairs aforeſaid; ſo that for Defect of ſuch Power, or by reaſon of improvident Choice of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aforeſaid, the ſaid Affairs may not be left undone in anywiſe.

And We will that you be not choſen to ſerve as a Knight for your ſaid County: And that the ſaid Choice in your full County, diſtinctly and openly ſo to be made forthwith, you certify to Us in Our Chancery, under your Seals, and the Seals of them which ſhall be preſent at ſuch Choice, ſending to Us the other Part of the ſaid Indentures annex'd, together with this Writ: And, in your Proceedings and Execution thereof, We will that you purſue and obſerve the ſeveral Directions limited and appointed by the ſaid Act of Parliament.

Witneſs Ourſelf, &c.

The ſame Day it was *reſolved*, 1. 'That in caſe the Lord Protector ſhall not, before the firſt of *July*, 1656, give Warrant for iſſuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet the third *Monday* in *October*, 1656; and before the firſt of *July*, 1659, give Warrant for iſſuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet on the third *Monday* in *October*, 1659; and before the firſt of *July* in every third Year, after that Time, give Warrant for iſſuing Writs of Summons for a Parliament to meet on the third *Monday* in *October*, in every third Year ſucceſſively: That then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, ſhall, without any War-

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Warrant or Direction, within ſeven Days after the reſpective Times aforeſaid, ſeal, iſſue, and ſend abroad Writs of Summons to the ſeveral and reſpective Sheriffs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for ſummoning a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the ſeveral Days above-recited.

2. 'That the ſaid Sheriffs, and other Officers reſpectively, ſhall, within ten Days after the Receipt of ſuch Writs as aforeſaid, cauſe the ſame to be proclaim'd and publiſhed in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market-Days thereof, between twelve and three of the Clock; and ſhall then alſo publiſh and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month, and the certain Place for electing of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the Body of the ſaid County, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Writ: Which Election ſhall be within ſix Weeks after the Date of the ſaid Writ; but not untill fourteen Days after all the Proclamations made, as aforeſaid: For which Purpoſe the ſaid Sheriff ſhall appoint ſome convenient Day, and the uſual or ſome other convenient and indifferent Place, for the Electors of each County and Place to meet in; and ſhall proceed to Election betwixt the Hours of Eight and Eleven before Noon; and ſhall ſend Precepts for Elections to be made in every City, Town, Borough, or Place, within their County and Place, where Elections are to be made, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head Officer of ſuch City, Town, Borough, or Place, within ſix Days after the Receipt of ſuch Writ: Which the ſaid Mayor, Sheriffs, and other Officers reſpectively, within eight Days after Receipt of the ſaid Precept, are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for ſuch Elections, to be made in the ſaid City, Town, or Place aforeſaid; and to cauſe Elections to be made accordingly, within eight Days after Proclamations of the ſaid Precept made as aforeſaid.

3. 'That, at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs,

Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places reſpectively, ſhall take View of the ſaid Elections; and ſhall make Return into the Chancery, within twenty Days after the ſaid Elections, of the Perſons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under the Hands and Seals of twelve or more of the ſaid Electors, on the Behalf of himſelf, on the one Part; and on the Behalf of the Electors, on the other Part; wherein ſhall be contained, that the Perſons elected ſhall not have Power to alter the Government from one Single Perſon and a Parliament.' Inter-regnum. 1654. November.

Nov. 25. *Reſolved*, 'That the Sheriff who ſhall, wittingly or willingly, make any falſe Return, or neglect his Duty in Execution of the Premiſes, ſhall incur the Penalty of 200*l.* of lawful *Engliſh* Money: And that every Mayor, Sheriff, Bailiff, or other Head Officer of any City, Town, Borough, or Place aforeſaid, who ſhall, wittingly or willingly, make any falſe Return, or neglect his Duty in the Execution of the Premiſes, ſhall incur the Penalty of 100*l.* of like lawful *Engliſh* Money; the one Moiety of all and every the Penalties aforeſaid to go to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to ſuch Party grieved as ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*; which Suit ſhall not be commenced untill the Parliament hath adjudged the ſame to be ſuch an Offence as aforeſaid.

Nov. 27. *Reſolved*, 1. 'That the Perſons who ſhall be elected to ſerve in Parliament ſhall be ſuch, and none other than ſuch, as are Perſons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Converſation, and being of the Age of twenty-one Years; and not ſuch as are diſabled by the Act of the 17th of King *Charles*, intitled, *An Act for diſabling all Perſons in Holy Orders to exerciſe any temporal Juriſdiction or Authority*; nor ſuch as are public Miniſters,

Interregnum. ...isters, or public Preachers of the Gospel[a]; no
1 ... ...ch ... ...are guilty of any of the Offences mentione
November. in an Act of Parliament, bearing Date *August* ...
165 , intitled, *An Act against several atheistical ... Opinions, and execrable Opinions, derogatory to the Honour of God, and destructive to human ... ciety*; no common Scoffer nor Reviler of Re... gion, or of any Person for professing thereof; ... Person that hath married, or shall marry, a W... of the Popish Religion; or hath trained, or sh... train up, his Children, or any other Children ... der his Tuition, in the Popish Religion; or ... shall permit such Children to be trained up in ... said Religion; or hath given, or shall give, his C... sent that his Son or Daughter shall marry any of ... Religion; no Person that shall deny the Script... to be the Word of God, or the Sacraments, Pra... Magistracy, and Ministry to be the Ordinance... God; no common Profaner of the Lord's D... nor profane Swearer or Curser; no Drunka... nor Haunter of Taverns, Ale-Houses, or Brot... Houses; none that shall hereafter drink Heal... or be guilty of Adultery, Fornication, or Ex... tion, Perjury, Forgery, or Bribery.

2. 'That all and every Person and Pers... who do or shall profess the Popish Religion, ... *Ireland*, or who have advised, assisted, or abe... in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, before the first I... of *September*, 1643, shall, during their Lives, ... disabled, and be uncapable to be elected, or ... give any Vote in the Election of any Member ... serve in any Parliament: And likewise that all ... every Person and Persons who have advised, vol... tarily assisted or abetted in the Rebellion of *Irela*... since the first Day of *September*, 1643, or have ... any Time advised, voluntarily assisted or abet... the War in *England* or *Scotland* against the P... liament, shall, during their Lives, be disabled ...

[a] In the List of this Parliament it appears, That the Univer... of *Oxford* elected *John Owen*, D. D. their Vice-Chancellor, ... their Representative in Parliament, which probably occasion'd ... Clause.

be uncapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſerve in Parliament; provided that this extend not to diſable or make uncapable ſuch Perſons conſtantly profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, who, before the 25th of *December*, 1649, did ſubmit, and have ever ſince continued faithful, to the Parliament, and given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection thereunto. Inter-regnum. 1654. November.

3. 'That every Perſon, not within the aforeſaid Exceptions, being reſident for three Months or more before the Time of Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, in ſuch County where Election is to be made, having an Eſtate in Freehold to the yearly Value of 40 *s.* within any County, Riding, Limit, or Place; or having an Eſtate, Real or Perſonal, to the full and clear Value of 200 *l.* or more, to be declared upon Oath by ſuch Perſon, if required, (which ſaid Oath the Sheriffs, or their Deputies are hereby impowered to give) ſhall be capable to give his Vote for the Election of Members for ſuch County, Riding, Limit, or Place where ſuch Land or Eſtate doth lye. Provided this extend not to alter any antient Cuſtoms, Charters, or Privileges of any Cities, Boroughs, Towns, or Corporations, who have thereby a Right to elect Members to Parliament; but the ſame to continue as formerly, any Thing in theſe Preſents to the contrary notwithſtanding: And provided that ſuch of the Perſons aforeſaid, having an Eſtate, Real or Perſonal, to the clear Value of 200 *l.* that ſhall give his Vote for the Election of any Member to ſerve in Parliament for any City, Borough, or Town Corporate, ſhall be excluded from giving his Vote for Election of any Knight for that County, in the ſame Parliament, unleſs he have an Eſtate of Freehold in the County to the yearly Value of 40 *s.* lying and being without the Limits of ſuch City, Borough, or Town Corporate.

4. 'That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to, theſe Qualifications, ſhall be null and void: And if any Perſon, who is

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by theſe Qualifications, made incapable, ſhall give his Vote for Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, he ſhall forfeit one full Year's Value of his Real Eſtate, and one full third Part of his Perſonal Eſtate; one Moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other Moiety to him who ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, by Action of Debt or Information; wherein ſhall be no Wager of Law, Eſſoign, or Protection allowed.

5. 'That the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal for the Time being ſhall forthwith be ſworn truly and faithfully to iſſue forth Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner before expreſs'd: And ſuch Chancellor, Keepers or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal as ſhall hereafter be, ſhall be ſworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to iſſue forth Writs of Summons to Parliament, at the Times and in the Manner as before expreſs'd: And in caſe of Neglect or Failure to iſſue Writs of Summons accordingly, they ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.'

Nov. 30. *Reſolved*, 1. 'That the Protector dying in the Intervals of Parliament, the Council ſhall immediately aſſemble in ſome convenient Place; and, having given Notice to all their Number, or to as many of them as conveniently they may, of the Cauſe and Time of their aſſembling, ſhall, being thirteen at leaſt preſent, proceed to the Election; and eleven of them, or more, ſhall agree who ſhall be the ſucceeding Protector; and, before they depart, ſhall declare ſuch Perſon ſo agreed upon to ſucceed in the Government. The Manner of Election, in all other Things, to be as the Council ſhall think fit.

2. 'That the Perſon ſo to be elected Protector, ſhall be ſuch, and no other than ſuch, as ſhall, by his good Converſation among the People of theſe Nations, manifeſt himſelf to be a Man of Ability, Truth,

Truth, and Courage, fearing God and hating Covetouſneſs. Provided that he ſhall not be under the Age of twenty-five Years, no Alien or Papiſt, nor any whoſe Wife is a Papiſt; nor any of the Children of the late King *Charles*, nor ſuch as ſhall have, or may pretend to have, Title of Inheritance unto the Supreme Government of theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, or any of them, or any other Title than by Election as aforeſaid. Inter-regnum. 1654. December.

December. The Debate, on the ſame Subject, began this Month as uſual, and continued three Days in every Week, Forenoon, and After, without any Intermiſſion. On the ſecond the Houſe reſolved upon the Form of an Oath to be adminiſter'd to the Council of the Lord Protector, which was in theſe Words:

I Do, in the Preſence, and by the Name, of Almighty God, promiſe and ſwear that I will be true and faithful in the Performance of the Truſt committed unto me as one of the Council; and that I will not reveal or diſcloſe any Thing, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that ſhall be debated or reſolved upon by the Council, wherein Secreſy ſhall be enjoined by the ſaid Council, without the Direction of the Lord Protector or the Parliament, or Leave of the Council: And that in the Election of every ſucceſſive Lord Protector, I will proceed therein faithfully and impartially, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding and Knowledge; and do nothing therein for any Promiſe, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

I will, to the beſt of my Knowledge and Underſtanding, give faithful Advice to the Lord Protector, for the Time being, in order to the good Government, Peace, and Welfare of theſe Nations: And I will not adviſe, act, or conſent unto any Thing to diſadvantage the Liberty, Property, or Intereſt of the People contrary to the Laws of the Land, to the beſt of my Underſtanding and Knowledge: And I will faithfully purſue the Inſtructions and Directions

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which are or shall be given to the Council by the Parliament.

Afterwards the Question being put, That the Persons who shall be of the Council shall be such as shall be nominated by the Lord Protector, and approved by the Parliament; and a Debate arising Whether these Words *nominated by the Lord Protector* should be Part of the Question, it was carried in the Affirmative by 100 against 68.

It was also resolved, 'That the Number of Persons to be of this Council, shall not exceed twenty-one; eleven of whom to be a Council, and not under; and that no Person shall continue to be of the Council longer than 40 Days after the Meeting of each succeeding Parliament, without a new Approbation by the Parliament.'

Dec. 6. The House came to the following Resolutions, 1. 'That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy over this Commonwealth, and the People thereof, shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a Council; the Exercise of which Power shall be according to the Laws, and according to such Limitations as are or shall be agreed upon by Parliament.

2. 'That all Writs, Process, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which heretofore did, or might lawfully have passed or issued in the Name or Style of *The Keepers of the Liberty of* England, *by Authority of Parliament*, shall pass and issue in the Name of *The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, and Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

3. 'That such Titles of Honour as shall hereafter conferred in this Commonwealth, shall be derived from the Lord Protector; and that no Title of Honour hereafter to be conferred by the said Lord Protector, shall be hereditary without Consent of Parliament.

4. 'That it shall not be in the Power of the

ſaid Lord Protector to pardon any Perſon lawfully convicted of Murder or Treaſon. Inter-regnum. 1654. December.

5. 'That the Lord Protector, with the Conſent of the Council, ſhall have Power of pardon, except in the Caſe of Murder and Treaſon.

6. 'That the Committee to whom the Conſideration of the late Ordinances made by the Lord Protector and the Council are referred, do take into Conſideration the Ordinance touching Treaſons, and the ſeveral former Acts touching the ſame, and prepare a Bill accordingly.

7. 'That the ſaid Lord Protector, by the Advice and Conſent of the major Part of his Council, ſhall direct in all Things concerning the keeping a good Correſpondence with foreign Kings, Princes, and States.

8. 'That the Benefit of all Forfeitures and Confiſcations not already granted, or otherwiſe lawfully veſted in any other Perſon, Bodies Politic or Corporate, ſhall belong to the Lord Protector, according to the Truſt repoſed in him by Law, and as ſhall be agreed upon by Parliament.

9. 'That the Power of making War is only in the Lord Protector and the Parliament.

10. 'That, ſitting the Parliament, no Peace ſhall be concluded but by Conſent of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, the Power of making Peace ſhall be in the Lord Protector and the Council, with ſuch Reſervations and Limitations as the Parliament ſhall approve.

11. 'That the Number of Perſons to be choſen to ſit and ſerve in Parliament for *England* and *Wales* ſhall be 400, and for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 30 each.

12. 'That the Office of the Lord Protector over theſe Nations ſhall be Elective and not Hereditary.

13. 'That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Treaſurer or Commiſſioners for the Treaſury, Lord High-Admiral or Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, the Chief Juſtices and the

the reſt of the Judges of both Benches, Chief B
and the Chief of the Barons of the Exchequer,
be chuſen by the Approbation of Parliament;
in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approb
of the major Part of the Council, to be after
approved by the Parliament.'

The ſame Vote paſs'd as to the Lord-Ch
lor, Keeper or Commiſſioners of the Great
and the Judges, both of *Scotland* and *Irela*

Dec. 7. The Houſe paſs'd two Reſolutio
lating to Church-Government, *viz.* 1. 'T
true Reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religio
is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the O
New Teſtament, and no other, ſhall be a
and maintained as the public Profeſſion of
Nations.

2. 'That, untill ſome better Proviſion b
by the Parliament, for the Encouragemen
Maintenance of able, godly, and painful Mi
and public Preachers of the Goſpel, for inſt
the People, and for Diſcovery and Confuta
Error, Hereſy, and whatſoever is contrary to
Doctrine, the preſent public Maintenance ſh
be taken away nor impeached.'

Dec. 8. It was further *reſolved*, 'That
any Bill ſhall be tendered to the Lord P
tor by the Parliament, to compel any Perſon
public Profeſſion of Religion, as held forth i
Nations, by any Penalty; to ſuch Bill th
Protector ſhall have a Negative. Provid
ſuch Bills, as ſhall be hereafter agreed upon
Parliament, requiring from ſuch Miniſte
Preachers of the Goſpel as ſhall receive th
lic Maintenance for inſtructing the People,
miſſion and Conformity to the public Pro
aforeſaid, or enjoining Attendance to the p
ing of the Word, and other religious Du
the Lord's Day, in ſome public Church or
pel, or at ſome other Congregational and Ch
Meeting, ſhall paſs into and become Laws

in twenty Days after the Preſentment thereof to the Lord Protector, although he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto.' Inter-regnum. 1654. December.

The Houſe ſpent ſome Days after this in ſettling other Matters in relation to Church-Government, in the Debates whereupon there were ſeveral Diviſions; one of which was, Whether Hereſies ſhould be called *damnable Hereſies*; and another, Whether there ſhould be an Enumeration of Hereſies after the Word *damnable*; which were both carried in the Affirmative. All which Debates produced the following Reſolution, *viz.*

'That, without the Conſent of the Lord Protector and Parliament, no Law be made for the reſtraining of ſuch tender Conſciences as ſhall differ in Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, from the public Profeſſion aforeſaid; and ſhall not abuſe ſuch Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or the Diſturbance of the Public Peace: Provided, That ſuch Bills as ſhall be agreed upon by the Parliament, for the reſtraining of Atheiſm, Blaſphemy, damnable Hereſies to be particularly enumerated by this Parliament, Popery, Prelacy, Licentiouſneſs, and Profaneneſs; or ſuch as ſhall preach, print, or avowedly maintain any Thing contrary to the Fundamental Principles of Doctrine held forth in the public Profeſſion, which ſhall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Parliament; or ſhall do any overt or public Act, to the Diſturbance thereof; ſhall paſs into and become Laws within twenty Days after their Preſentation to the Lord Protector, altho' he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto.'

The ſame Day it was reſolved, 'That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince; of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Foreſt Lands, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Hereditaments be-

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belonging to the Commonwealth, ſhall no way be impeached, or made invalid; but ſhall remain good and firm: And that the Security given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament, for any Sum of Money by any of the ſaid Lands, the Exciſe, or by any other public Revenue; and alſo the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, ſhall remain firm and good, and not be made void or invalid upon any Pretence whatſoever: Provided, That the Articles given to, or made with, the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, ſhall be perform'd and made good to the Perſons concerned therein: And that all Appeals or Petitions, made or exhibited ſince the 16th of *July*, 1651, and before the firſt of *December* Inſtant, for Relief concerning Bills for Sale of Delinquents Eſtates, may be heard and determined this Parliament.'

'The next Thing the Houſe went upon was to frame an Oath to be taken by the preſent Lord Protector, and every ſucceeding one; which being brought in and read, and ſome Additions made to it, was, at laſt, agreed upon as follows:

I Do in the Preſence, and by the Name, of Almighty God, promiſe and ſwear, That, to the uttermoſt of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame: And that I will not violate, nor infringe, any of the Matters and Things contained in the ; and will in all Things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern according to the Laws, Statutes, Rights, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of the Parliament and People of theſe Nations; and will ſeek their Peace and Welfare according to thoſe Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties; and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally and duly adminiſtred.

Dec.

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Dec. 18. It was reſolved, 'That a conſtant yearly Revenue of 200,000 *l.* be ſettled and eſtabliſhed upon the now Lord Protector, and the ſucceeding Lord Protectors for the Time being reſpectively, for defraying the neceſſary Charges for Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and other Expences of the Government; and for the Support of his and their State and Dignity, as may be for the Honour of this Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: And that the ſaid 200,000 *l. per Annum* be conſtantly paid out of the public Receipt of the Exchequer, by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council; and ſhall not be taken away, nor diminiſhed, without the Conſent of the Lord Protector and Parliament.'

Dec. 19. *Reſolved*, 'That *Whitehall*, St. *James's Houſe* and *Park*, the *Mews*, *Somerſet-Houſe*, *Greenwich-Houſe* and *Park*, *Hampton-Court*, and the Honour and Manor of *Hampton-Court*, with the Parks and Grounds now thereunto belonging; *Windſor-Caſtle*, the little Park there, and other the Lands thereunto now belonging; and the Houſe called the *Manor*, near the City of *York*, with their Appurtenances, now unſold or undiſpoſed of, be veſted in the preſent Lord Protector and the ſucceeding Lord Protectors, for the Maintenance of his and their State and Dignity, beſides the 200,000 *l.* aforeſaid; and ſhall not be alienated but by Conſent of Parliament.'

Dec. 20. *Reſolved*, 1. 'That no Writs of Summons to any Parliament, nor any other Writs, Proceſs, Patents, Commiſſions, nor any Proceedings in Law or Juſtice, ſhall be diſcontinued, or made void, by the Death of any Lord Protector.

2. 'That all Writs, Proceſs, Patents, Commiſſions, and Proceedings in Law or Juſtice, iſſuing forth or being after any ſucceeding Lord Protector ſhall be elected and ſworn, ſhall iſſue forth and be in the Name of ſuch Lord Protector, and are hereby declared to be of full Force in Law, to all Intents

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Intents and Purpoſes: And that all former Writs, Proceſs, Patents, Commiſſions, Offices, and Officers, ſhall continue and be in as full Force as they ſhould have been if the ſaid former Protector had been ſtill living.

3. 'That after the Death of any Lord Protector, and until the next Lord Protector ſhall be elected and ſworn, the Council ſhall take Care of the Government, and adminiſter in all Things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.'

January. Theſe are all the Reſolutions we can hitherto pick out of the *Journals*, capable of any Connection; tho' there are Abundance of others, on which were many Diviſions, ordered to be put into a large Bill, that had been canvaſſed ſeveral Days; the laſt of which Day's Debates is ſaid to be on the 60th Chapter of it. There are alſo three other Reſolutions entered in the *Journals* of this Month, which were to be Part of the Bill: And as the whole of this new Frame of Government is now, perhaps, no where to be met with, theſe, with the foregoing Fragments of it, may ſerve to give the Reader ſome Idea thereof, *viz.*

Jan. 13. *Reſolved*, 'That no Pardon extend to exempt any Counſellor of State, Judge, Officer, or other Miniſter of State, from being queſtion'd or ſentenced in Parliament for Male-adminiſtration or Corruption in his Office or Employment, or from any Sentence or Judgment thereupon, or Execution thereof; nor ſhall extend to pardon any Perſon for Breach of Privilege of Parliament, or any other Sentence or Judgment in Parliament, or any Execution thereupon.'

Jan. 16. *Reſolved*, 'That the Sum of 400,000*l* ariſing by the Cuſtoms and other public Receipts in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhall be yearly paid out of the public Receipts of the Exchequer by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council for and towards the Maintenance of a convenient Num-

Number of Ships for guarding of the Seas, and the Security and Encouragement of Trade, and the Maintenance of such Garrisons as shall be necessary for the Defence of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; which Revenue shall continue, and not be altered without Consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament: And that the yearly Sum of 700,000*l.* more arising by Excise, or other public Receipts in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, shall be provided by Parliament, and paid out of the Exchequer by Warrant of the Lord Protector and the Council, for the Maintenance and full Discharge of such Field-Forces as shall be thought needful to be kept up for the Defence of this Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and for the Payment and full Discharge of such Forces in Garrisons and Naval Charges, and all incident Charges belonging to every of them; as shall not be satisfied and paid out of the 400,000*l.* aforesaid; which said 700,000*l.* shall continue and be paid untill the 25th of *December*, 1659, unless the Lord Protector and the Parliament shall agree to lessen the said Sum before that Time; and that this be Part of the Government.' Inter-regnum 1654. January.

Jan. 17. *Resolved*, 'That the Bill intitled *An Act declaring and settling the Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging*, be ingross'd, in order to its Presentment to the Lord Protector, for his Consideration and Consent: And that if the Lord Protector and the Parliament shall not agree thereunto, and to every Article thereof, then this Bill shall be void, and of none Effect.'

The House went on every Day, after the last Date, debating still on the Government; and the Bill for it being read a second Time, more Additions and Provisoes were offered to it; which, on several Divisions, (no less than seven happening in two

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two Days Time) were rejected. And they might have gone on, debating and dividing, long enough, had not the Protector come down to *Weſtminſter* on the 22d of this Month; when, ſending for the Speaker and the whole Houſe to attend him in the *Painted-Chamber*, he was pleaſed, ſays the *Journal*, to diſſolve this Parliament.

The Parliament diſſolved, without paſſing one ſingle Act.

Although we have almoſt entirely confined our Account of the Proceedings of this Parliament to the grand Affair of Government, and have ſcarce hinted that there was any other Buſineſs begun there; yet ſome other Bills were ordered to be brought in, which were read once or twice, but all rendered abortive by the ſudden Diſſolution: Inſomuch that *Scobell's Collections* afford not one ſingle Act paſſed by this Parliament. The moſt material of thoſe under Conſideration of the Houſe, were,

Account of Bills, &c. then depending before them.

A Bill againſt the Election and Swearing of Mayors, *&c.* on the Lord's Day.—A Bill againſt drinking of Healths, and for inflicting the like Degrees of Penalties on Drunkards as were already impoſed on Swearers; alſo for enabling Juſtices of Peace to levy the Penalties or execute the Puniſhments in that Behalf, in a more ſpeedy Way than by former Acts; and for ſupplying the Defects in thoſe Laws.—A Bill for compelling Lay-Impropriators, and Colleges poſſeſſed of Impropriations, to allow a Competency of Maintenance to the reſpective Incumbents, where there was not a ſufficient one already made by Law: Alſo to enable ſuch Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns, where there was not a competent Maintenance for their reſpective Miniſters, to tax themſelves for that Purpoſe.—A Bill for uniting *Ireland* to the Commonwealth of *England*, re-eſtabliſhing Courts of Judicature there, placing of Judges therein, and making a Great Seal to be uſed in *Ireland*.—A Bill for laying an Aſſeſſment of 60,000 *l. per Menſem*, for three Months, upon *England*; 8000 *l.* upon *Ireland*, and 8000 *l.* upon *Scotland*, for

for the Maintenance of the Army.——A Committee was appointed to conſider how Encouragement might be given for Exportation of Corn, Butter and Cheeſe, and to review the ſeveral Statutes againſt Engroſſers: And another for the Advancement of Trade; for taking away the Court of Wards, and Purveyance, in *England*; and for aboliſhing Tenures in *Ireland*.—The Houſe had alſo ordered the ſeveral Knights of Shires to preſent the Name of one godly and able Miniſter of the Goſpel for each County in *England*, to be approv'd of by the Houſe, to offer their Advice concerning ſuch Matters of Religion as ſhould be propoſed to them by the Parliament; alſo eight for *Ireland*, eight for *Scotland*, and one for each Univerſity.

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Before we take our Leave of this Parliament we ſhall mention an Affair of an extraordinary Nature which came before them, and ſeems to have been more properly the Buſineſs of a Convocation than a Houſe of Commons. It was this:

Their Proceedings againſt *John Biddle* for Blaſphemy,

Complaint having been made to the Houſe of two Books lately printed, the one intitled, *The apoſtolical and true Opinion concerning the Holy Trinity revived and aſſerted*; or, *Twelve Arguments drawn out of Scripture, wherein the commonly-received Opinion, touching the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, is clearly and fully refuted:* The other intitled, *A Twofold Catechiſm:* Both of them by *John Biddle*; a Committee was appointed, with Power to ſummon the Author before them, to reſtrain him, and to ſuppreſs his School; alſo to ſend for the Printers and Publiſhers thereof; to ſeize upon, and call in, the Books, and to prevent the further printing of them; to examine the Particulars contained therein; and to report the ſame, with their Opinion, to the Houſe. All this having been done accordingly, it was reſolved, 1. 'That the ſaid Books do contain impious, horrid, blaſphemous, and execrable Opinions againſt the Deity of *Chriſt* and of the Holy Ghoſt.

2. 'That

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2. 'That they be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman, at the *Old Exchange* and in the *New Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*; and, in order thereto, that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* be required to ſearch for, and ſeize, all printed Copies thereof.

3. 'That *John Biddle*, the Author, be ſent for in Cuſtody, as a Delinquent.'

Soon after *Biddle* being apprehended and brought to the Bar of the Houſe, and the Books ſhewn to him, he acknowledged That he was the Author thereof; but denied that he was a Schoolmaſter, or had any Congregation. Being aſk'd, Who was the Printer? He ſaid, That hitherto he had anſwered as a Chriſtian, to give an Account of the Hope that was in him: That what the Law of *Chriſt* warranted him to anſwer, he would do; but, beyond That, he would not: And that the Law of *Chriſt* injoin'd him not to betray his Brethren. Then being aſk'd, Whether the Law of *Chriſt* did injoin him to believe the Holy Ghoſt is not God? He ſaid, The Law of *Chriſt* no where told him the Holy Ghoſt is God. Next it being demanded of him, Whether the Holy Ghoſt be God? He anſwered, He had examined the Scriptures, and did no where find, in the Old or New Teſtament, that the Holy Spirit is God: That he had own'd the Books; and that his Opinion was ſufficiently declared in them. Being aſk'd, Whether *Jeſus Chriſt* be God from everlaſting to everlaſting? He replied, He had own'd the Books, and therein had declared his Judgment: But that he did not find in Scripture where *Jeſus Chriſt* is called the Moſt High God, or God from everlaſting to everlaſting. Being further aſk'd, Whether God be confined to a certain Place? He ſaid, This Queſtion did not relate to the Hope that is in a Chriſtian; and therefore there was no Neceſſity lying on him to anſwer it. And being then aſk'd, Whether God had a bodily Shape? He replied, He had anſwered ſufficiently to That already.

The

The Reſult of this Examination was, That the Houſe committed *Biddle* to the *Gatehouſe*; to be there kept without Pen, Ink, or Paper, in order to a further Proceeding againſt him. Inter-regnum. 1654. January.

Beſides what may be collected of this Man's Opinions from his Anſwers to the Queſtions propoſed to him by the Houſe, the *Journals* give us ſome further Particulars thereof extracted from his Books, *viz.*

'That he aſſerted, The infinite God is confined to a certain Place, hath a bodily Shape, and a Right Hand and Left in a proper Senſe; that there are Paſſions in God; that God the Father only, ſeparate from the Son and Holy Ghoſt, is the firſt Cauſe of all Things that pertain to Salvation; that God the Holy Ghoſt is a created Spirit, and not God; that *Chriſt* is a made Lord; and neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit the Moſt High God; that *Chriſt* is the Second Cauſe of all Things pertaining to our Salvation, and that the Son is not equal with the Father; that *Chriſt* hath no other than a human Nature, and that he is not the Moſt High God, the ſame with the Father, but ſubordinate to him, and that he is not the Supreme and independent Monarch *Jehovah*; that the Holy Ghoſt is the only principal Miniſter of God and of *Chriſt*, ſingled out of the Number of other heavenly Miniſters or Angels.

'That he affirmed Juſtification by Works, and that Works giving Vigour to Faith, make it able to juſtify; that Works give Right to eternal Life; and that true Saints may turn Apoſtates finally.

'That he denied the Omniſcience and Immutability of God, and alſo that all the Three Perſons are to be lov'd with our whole Heart. He likewiſe denied that *Jeſus Chriſt* hath the Nature of God dwelling in him, he having only a Divine Lordſhip without a Divine Nature. He farther denied that *Chriſt* was a Prieſt whilſt he was on Earth; or died to reconcile God to us; or that God doth juſtify any becauſe of the full Price that *Chriſt* paid to him in their Stead; or that the Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt* is imputed to Believers; or that the

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Wicked continue to live in Hell under the Senſe of everlaſting Torment, but that they are deſtroyed and ceaſe to be.

The foregoing Extracts being read, a Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill for puniſhing the ſaid *John Biddle*; but it never paſs'd, for the Reaſons before given: However, he was ſoon after committed to *Newgate*, and then baniſh'd to the Iſle of *Scilly*, by Order of the Protector and his Council.

And againſt *Theror John*, a Quaker:

Beſides this Complaint againſt *Biddle*, another was made to the Houſe againſt one *Theror John*, whom Mr. *Whitlocke* ſtyles a Quaker, a Sect which made its firſt Appearance about this Time; tho', according to the Account given of this Man in the *Journals*, his Principles ſeem not to quadrate altogether with thoſe of the preſent Quakers: For by theſe Authorities it appears, That the Houſe being informed that one *Theror John* had drawn his Sword in the Lobby, and ſtruck at divers Perſons; and ran with his Sword againſt the Door of the Houſe; he was ordered to be brought to the Bar: Where, being aſk'd by the Speaker, Why he came to the Parliament Door? He ſaid, He had fired his Tent; and the People were ready to ſtone him, becauſe he burnt the Bible; which he acknowledged he did, ſaying, It is Letters, not Life: And he drew his Sword, becauſe a Man joſtled him at the Door: And burnt the Bible, becauſe the People ſay it is the Word of God; and it is not; it deceived him: And farther, that he burnt the Sword and Piſtols, and Bible, becauſe they are the Gods of *England*: And that he did it not of himſelf; but God bid him do it. Being ordered to withdraw, it was reſolved, That he be committed to the *Gatehouſe*, in order to a further Proceeding againſt him; and that a Charge be given to the Keeper to take Notice what Perſons reſorted to him. A Committee was alſo appointed to examine this Enthuſiaſt, to preſent to the Houſe their Opinion what was fit to be done in reſpect of theſe

these Offences; and to prepare a Bill upon the Debate relating to Quakers, with Power to receive Informations touching these Persons, the better to enable the Committee how to describe them in the intended Bill. But what farther became of this Affair does not appear. Inter-regnum. 1654. January.

Thus much for the Laws intended to have been made by this Parliament, and the other Affairs in Agitation at the Time of their Dissolution.—— The contemporary *Memorialists* must next be consulted for clearing up some Matters not explained in the *Journals*. All which are render'd abortive by their Dissolution.

Mr. *Whitlocke* writes, 'That, in the Month of *January*, many Things were spoken in the Debates of the House, concerning the Government, which gave great Offence to *Cromwell* and his Council, and created a Suspicion that no Good was to be expected from them; for they were not inclinable to satisfy the Protector's Desires. On the other Side, the Parliament made what Haste they could to finish their Debates and close the Business, for fear a Blow from his superior Hand should spoil all their Labours.'—And so it happened: For the same Author tells us, 'That the Protector grew weary of his Parliament; and though he was advised by some not to dissolve them, urging the Inconveniences that had arisen by the Dissolution of former Parliaments, which ever caused ill Blood; or, at least, not to dissolve them till after the Time was past that, by the Instrument of Government, they were to sit; yet he was not very sollicitous about that, but was resolved to part with them at any Rate: Which some of his Council, who saw his Designs, were not backward to promote.'

Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow*, speaking of *Cromwell*, says, 'The Representative sitting at *Westminster*, though garbled as he thought fit, proving not sufficiently inclined to serve his Designs, but rather, in Prudence, yielding to the Strength of the present Stream, in Hopes the People might, in Time,

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recover their Oars, and make uſe of them for the Public Good; he grew impatient till the five Months allowed for their ſitting ſhould be expired.

'And though they differed not in any material Point from that Form of Government which he himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the Nomination of his Succeſſor to the Parliament; yet did the Omiſſion of this one Thing ſo enrage him, that he reſolved upon their Diſſolution. They had prepared all Things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any juſt Occaſion of Offence; well knowing that, in caſe they had given him the leaſt Pretence of Diſſatisfaction, he would have laid all the Blame at their Door; and therefore they prudently left the ſettling of the Church-Government, and the Liberty that was to be extended to tender Conſciences, (an Engine by which *Cromwell* did moſt of his Work) to the Conſideration of the next Aſſembly: Whereupon he wanting wherewith juſtly to accuſe them, unleſs it were for too much complying with him to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, after he had peruſed the Form of Government which the Aſſembly had agreed upon, and tendered to him for his Conſideration; the five Months of their Seſſion, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty-eight Days to the Month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 22d of *January*, in the *Painted-Chamber*; where he made up with Words and Paſſion, what he wanted of Matter to charge them with.'

Thus far Mr. *Ludlow*'s Account of this Affair: It is now high Time to ſee what the Protector has to ſay for himſelf; whoſe Speech was *in hæc Verba*: [c]

Gentlemen,

Cromwell's Speech at the diſſolving of his ſecond Parliament.

'I Perceive you are here as the Houſe of Parliament, by your Speaker, whom I ſee here, and by your Faces, which are, in a great Meaſure, known to me.

'When

[c] From the original Edition, printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to his Highneſs the Lord Protector, and publiſhed to prevent Miſtakes

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'When I first met you in this Room, it was, to 'my Apprehension, the hopefullest Day that ever 'mine Eyes saw, as to Considerations of this 'World: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, 'together with myself) the Hopes and the Happi- 'ness of (though not of the greatest, yet a very 'great, and) the best People in the World; and 'truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a People 'that have the highest and the clearest Profession 'among them, of the greatest Glory, *viz.* Reli- 'gion; as a People that have been, like other Na- 'tions, some Times up and some Times down in 'our Honour in the World, but yet never so low but 'we might measure with other Nations; and a 'People that have had a Stamp upon them from 'God; God having, as it were, summed up all our 'former Glory and Honour, in the Things that 'are of Glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within 'these ten or twelve Years last past; so that we 'knew one another at home, and are well known 'abroad.

'And, if I be not very much mistaken, we were 'arrived (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others 'did think) at a very safe Port, where we might 'sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of 'God and our Mercies; and might know our 'Mercies not to have been like to those of the An- 'tients, who did make out their Peace and Prospe- 'rity, as they thought, by their own Endeavours; 'who could not say, as we, that all ours were 'let down to us from God himself, whose Appear- 'ances and Providences amongst us are not to be 'outmatch'd by any Story.

Mistakes and false Copies. At the End of it is the following Order:

Monday, February 5, 1654.
At the Council at *Whitehall.*

Ordered, *That no Person or Persons whatsoever presume, at their Perils, on any Pretence whatsoever, to print or reprint, either in Part or in Whole, his Highness's Speech to the Parliament in the* Painted-Chamber, *at their Dissolution, on* Monday *the* 22*d of* January, 1654, *other than* Henry Hills, *Printer to his Highness, and such as he shall employ and appoint in that Behalf.*

W. JESSOP, *Clerk of the Council.*

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'Truly this was our Condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was commanded, in that most excellent Psalm of *David*, *Psal.* lxxviii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *The Things which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their Children; shewing to the Generation to come the Praise of the Lord, and his Strength, and his wonderful Works which he hath done; for he established a Testimony in* Jacob, *and appointed a Law in* Israel, *which he commanded our Fathers that they should make them known to their Children; that the Generation to come might know them, even the Children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their Children, that they might set their Hope in God, and not forget the Works of God; but keep his Commandments.*

'This I thought had been a Song and a Work worthy of *England*, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had Hearts unto it.

'You had this Opportunity fairly delivered unto you; and if a History shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) that these Things that I have spoken are true.

'This Talent was put into your Hands; and I shall recur to that which I said at the first, I came with very great Joy, and Contentment, and Comfort, the first Time I met you in this Place; but we and these Nations are, for the present, under some Disappointment. If I had proposed to have play'd the Orator, (which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall) I doubt not but upon easy Suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such Hopes as these.

'I met you a second Time here; and, I confess, at that Meeting I had much Abatement of my Hopes, though not a total Frustration. I confess that that which damp'd my Hopes so soon, was somewhat that did look like a Parricide. It

'is

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'is obvious enough unto you, that the Manage-
'ment of Affairs did ſavour of a not owning, too
'too much favour, I ſay, of a not owning the
'Authority that call'd you hither; but God left
'us not without an Expedient that gave a ſecond
'Poſſibility: Shall I ſay a Poſſibility? It ſeem'd
'to me a Probability, of recovering out of that diſ-
'ſatisfied Condition we were all then in, towards
'ſome Mutuality of Satisfaction; and therefore,
'by that Recognition, ſuiting with the Indenture
'that return'd you hither, to which afterwards al-
'ſo was added your own Declaration, conform-
'able to, and in Acceptance of, that Expedient;
'whereby you had, tho' with a little Check, another
'Opportunity renewed unto you to have made this
'Nation as happy as it could have been, if every
'Thing had ſmoothly run on from that firſt Hour
'of your Meeting.

'And indeed (you will give me Liberty of my
'Thoughts and Hopes) I did think, as I have
'formerly found in that Way that I have been en-
'gaged in as a Soldier, that ſome Affronts put upon
'us, ſome Diſaſters at the firſt, have made Way
'for very great and happy Succeſſes: And I did
'not at all deſpond, but the Stop put upon you
'would, in like Manner, have made Way for a
'Bleſſing from God; that Interruption being,
'as I thought, neceſſary to divert you from de-
'ſtructive and violent Proceedings, to give Time
'for better Deliberations; whereby, leaving the
'Government as you found it, you might have pro-
'ceeded to have made thoſe good and wholeſome
'Laws, which the People expected from you;
'and might have anſwered the Grievances, and
'ſettled thoſe other Things proper to you as a Par-
'liament, and for which you would have had
'Thanks from all that entruſted you.

'What hath happened ſince that Time, I have
'not taken public Notice of, as declining to in-
'trench upon Parliament Privileges: For, ſure I
'am, you will all bear me witneſs, that from your
'entering into the Houſe upon the Recognition,

'to

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'to this very Day, you have had no Manner of
'Interruption or Hinderance of mine, in proceed-
'ing to that blessed Issue the Heart of a good Man
'could propose to himself, to this very Day.

'You see you have me very much lock'd up as to
'what you have transacted among yourselves from
'that Time to this; but some Things I shall take
'Liberty to speak of to you. As I may not take
'Notice what you have been doing, so I think I
'have a very great Liberty to tell you, that I do
'not know what you have been doing; I do not
'know whether you have been alive or dead, I have
'not once heard from you all this Time; I have
'not, and that you all know: If that be a Fault
'that I have not, surely it hath not been mine.

'If I have had any melancholy Thoughts and
'have sat down by them, why might it not have
'been very lawful for me to think that I was a
'Person judged unconcern'd in all these Businesses?
'I can assure you I have not reckoned myself so;
'did I reckon myself, unconcern'd in your
'so long as any just Patience could support my
'Expectation, I would have waited to the utmost
'most to have received from you the Effects of your
'Consultations and Resolutions: I hope I am
'careful of your Safety, and the Safety of those
'that you represented, to whom I reckon myself
'a Servant.

'But what Messages have I disturbed your mind
'all? What Injury or Indignity hath been done
'or offered, either to your Persons, or to your Pri-
'vileges of Parliament since you sat? I looked
'myself as strictly obliged by my Oath since you
'recognizing the Government, in the Authority
'of which you were called hither, and sat, to give
'you all possible Security, and to keep you from
'any Unparliamentary Interruption.

'Think you I could not say more upon this
'Subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But
'because my Actions plead for me I shall say no
'more of this.

'I say I have been caring for you, for your 'quiet sitting; caring for your Privileges, as I said 'before, that they might not be interrupted; have 'been seeking of God, from the Great God, a 'Blessing upon you, and a Blessing upon these Na- 'tions; I have been consulting if possibly I might 'in any Thing promote, in my Place, the real 'Good of this Parliament, of the Hopefulness of 'which I have said so much unto you. Inter-regnum. 1654 January.

'And I did think it to be my Business rather to 'see the utmost Issue, and what God would pro- 'duce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle 'with you: But, as I said before, I have been 'caring for you, and for the Peace and Quiet of 'the Nations; indeed I have, and that I shall a 'little presently manifest unto you.

'And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat 'that I fear, I fear will be, through some Interpre- 'tation, a little too justly put upon you, whilst you 'have been employed as you have been, and (in 'all that Time expressed in the Government, in 'that Government, I say in that Government) 'brought forth nothing that you yourselves say can 'be taken Notice of, without Infringement of your 'Privileges.

'I will tell you somewhat, that, if it be not 'News to you, I wish you had taken very serious 'Consideration of; if it be News, I wish I had ac- 'quainted you with it sooner; and yet if any Man 'will ask me why I did it not, the Reason is given 'already, because I did make it my Business to give 'you no Interruption.

'There be some Trees that will not grow under 'the Shadow of other Trees; there be some that 'chuse (a Man may say so by way of Allusion) to 'thrive under the Shadow of other Trees. I will 'tell you what hath thriven; I will not say what 'you have cherish'd under your Shadow; that were 'too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement, 'instead of Mercy and Truth being brought toge- 'ther, Righteousness and Peace kissing each other;

'by

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'by reconciling the honeſt People of theſe Nations
'and ſettling the woful Diſtempers that are among
'us, which had been glorious Things, and worthy of Chriſtians to have propoſed. Where
'Nettles, Briars and Thorns have theirs neſts
'your Shadow; Diſcontentment and Diviſion, Diſ
'content and Diſſatisfaction, together with
'Dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied
'within theſe five Months of your Sitting, than
'ſome Years before.

'Foundations have been alſo laid for the
'renewing the Troubles of theſe Nations, by
'the Enemies of it abroad and at home; Let
'theſe Words ſeem too ſharp, for they are true
'any Mathematical Demonſtrations are or can
'I ſay, the Enemies of the Peace of theſe Nations
'abroad and at home; the diſcontented Humors
'throughout theſe Nations, which I think no Man
'will grudge to call by that Name, or to make
'allude to Briars and Thorns, they have nouriſh
'themſelves under your Shadow.

'And that I may be clearly underſtood, they
'have taken the Opportunities from your Sitting
'from the Hopes they had, which with eaſy Con
'jecture they might take up, and conclude that
'there would be no Settlement; and therefore they
'have framed their Deſigns, preparing for the Ex
'ecution of them accordingly.

'Now whether (which appertains not to me
'judge of on their Behalf) they had any Occaſion
'miniſtered for this, and from whence they had
'I liſt not to make any Scrutiny or Search; but
'will ſay this, I think they had them not from
'I am ſure they had not; from whence they had
'is not my Buſineſs now to diſcourſe, but that they
'had, is obvious to every Man's Senſe.

'What Preparations they have made to execute
'in ſuch a Seaſon as they thought fit to take the
'Opportunity from, that I know (not as Man
'know Things by Conjecture, but) by certain
'monſtrable Knowledge; that they have been,

'ſo

'some Time past, furnishing themselves with Arms, 'nothing doubting but that they should have a Day 'for it; and verily believing, that whatsoever their 'former Disappointments were, they should have 'more done for them by, and from, our own Divi- 'sions, than they were able to do for themselves. Inter-regnum. 1654. January.

'I desire to be understood, that in all I have to 'say of this Subject, you will take it that I have no 'Reservation in my Mind (as I have not) to mingle 'Things of Guess and Suspicion with Things of 'Fact; but the Things I am telling of are Fact, 'Things of evident Demonstration.

'These Weeds, Briars, and Thorns, they have 'been preparing; and have brought their Designs 'to some Maturity, by the Advantages given to 'them, as aforesaid, from your Sitting and Pro- 'ceedings; but by the waking Eye that watched 'over that Cause that God will bless, they have 'been, and yet are, disappointed. And having 'mentioned that Cause, I say that slighted Cause, 'let me speak a few Words in behalf thereof, tho' 'it may seem too long a Digression. Whosoever 'despiseth it, and will say it is *non Causa pro Causa*, 'the all-searching Eye before-mentioned will find 'out that Man, and will judge him as one that re- 'gardeth not the Works of God, nor the Opera- 'tions of his Hands; for which God hath threat- 'ened that he will cast Men down, and not build 'them up. That because he can dispute, and tell 'us he knew not where the Cause begun, nor 'where it is, but modelleth it according to his 'own Intellect, and submits not to the Appear- 'ances of God in the World; therefore he lifts 'up his Heel against God, and mocketh at all 'his Providences, laughing at the Observations 'made up, not without Reason and the Scrip- 'tures, but by the quickening and teaching Spirit 'which gives Life to the other, calling such Ob- 'servations Enthusiasms. Such Men, I say, no 'Wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and 'be broken, and snared, and taken by the Things

'of

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'of which they are ſo maliciouſly and wilfully ig-
'norant. The Scriptures ſay, *The Rod has a*
'*Voice, and he will make himſelf known by the*
'*Judgments which he executeth*; and do we not
'think he will, and does, by the Providences of
'Mercy and Kindneſs which he hath for his
'People, and for their juſt Liberties, *whom he loves*
'*as the Apple of his Eye?* Doth he not by them
'manifeſt himſelf? And is he not thereby alſo ſeen,
'giving Kingdoms for them, giving Men for them,
'and People for their Lives? as it is in *Iſaiah*,
'Chap. xliii. Is not this as fair a Lecture, and
'as clear ſpeaking, as any Thing our dark Reaſon
'left to the Letter of the Scriptures can collect
'from them? By this Voice has God ſpoken ve-
'ry loud on the Behalf of his People, by judg-
'ing their Enemies in the late War, and reſtoring
'them a Liberty to worſhip with the Freedom of
'their Conſciences, and Freedom in their Eſtates
'and Perſons when they do ſo. And thus we have
'found the Cauſe of God by the Works of God,
'which are the Teſtimony of God; upon which
'Rock whoſoever ſplits ſhall ſuffer Shipwreck.

'But it is your Glory, and it is mine, if I have
'any in the World, concerning the Intereſt of thoſe
'that have an Intereſt in a better World; it is my
'Glory that I know a Cauſe, which yet we have not
'loſt, but do hope we ſhall take a little Pleaſure ra-
'ther to loſe our Lives than loſe. But you will ex-
'cuſe this long Digreſſion.

'I ſay unto you, whilſt you have been in the
'midſt of theſe Tranſactions, that Party, that Ca-
'valier Party, (I could wiſh ſome of them had
'thruſt in here to have heard what I ſay) the Ca-
'valier Party have been deſigning and preparing to
'put this Nation in Blood again with a Witneſs;
'but becauſe I am confident there are none of that
'Sort here, therefore I ſhall ſay the leſs to that;
'only this I muſt tell you, they have been making
'great Preparations of Arms; and, I do believe, it
'will be made evident to you, that they have raked

'out

'out many Thouſands of Arms, even all that this Inter-regn
'City could afford, for divers Months laſt paſt. 1654.
'But it will be ſaid, May we not arm ourſelves January
'for the Defence of our Houſes? Will any Body find
'Fault for that? No, for that the Reaſon of their
'doing ſo hath been as explicit, and under as clear
'Proof, as the Fact of doing ſo; for which I hope,
'by the Juſtice of the Land, ſome will, in the Face
'of the Nation, anſwer it with their Lives, and
'then the Buſineſs will be pretty well out of Doubt.
'Banks of Money have been framing for theſe
'and other ſuch like Uſes; Letters have been iſſued
'with Privy-Seals, to as great Perſons as moſt
'are in the Nation, for the Advance of Monies,
'which have been diſcovered to us by the Perſons
'themſelves; Commiſſions for Regiments of Horſe
'and Foot, and Command of Caſtles, have been
'likewiſe given from *Charles Stuart*, ſince your Sit-
'ting; and what the general Inſolences of that Par-
'ty have been, the honeſt People have been ſenſi-
'ble of, and can very well teſtify.
'It hath not been only thus; but, as in a Quin-
'ſey or Pleuriſy, where the Humour fixeth in one
'Part, give it Scope it will gather to that Place,
'to the hazarding of the whole; and it is natural
'to do ſo, till it deſtroy Nature in that Perſon on
'whomſoever this befalls.
'So likewiſe will thoſe Diſeaſes take accidental
'Cauſes of Aggravation of their Diſtemper; and
'this was that which I did aſſert, That they have
'taken accidental Cauſes for the growing and en-
'creaſing of thoſe Diſtempers, as much as would
'have been in the natural Body, if timely Remedy
'were not applied. And, indeed, Things were
'come to that Paſs (in reſpect of which I ſhall give
'you a particular Account) that no mortal Phyſici-
'an, if the great Phyſician had not ſtept in, could
'have cured the Diſtemper.
'Shall I lay this upon your Account, or my
'own? I am ſure I can lay it upon God's Ac-
'count; that, if he had not ſtept in, the Diſeaſe
'had been mortal and deſtructive; and what is all
'this?

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'this? Truly I must needs say, a Company of 'Men still, like Briars and Thorns, and worse, 'if worse can be; of another Sort than those be- 'fore-mentioned to you have been, and yet are en- 'deavouring to put us into Blood, and into Con- 'fusion; more desperate and dangerous Confusion 'than *England* ever yet saw.

'And I must say, as when *Gideon* commanded 'his Son to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and slay 'them, they thought it more noble to die by the 'Hand of a Man, than of a Stripling; which shews, 'there is some Contentment in the Hand by which 'a Man falls: So it is some Satisfaction, if a Com- 'monwealth must perish, that it perish by Men, 'and not by the Hands of Persons differing little 'from Beasts; that, if it must needs suffer, it 'should rather suffer from rich Men than from 'poor Men; who, as *Solomon* says, *when they op- 'press, they leave nothing behind them, but are as a 'sweeping Rain.*

'Now, such as these also are grown up under 'your Shadow. But it will be asked, What have 'they done? I hope, though they pretend Com- 'monwealths Interest, they have had no En- 'couragement from you; but that, as before, ra- 'ther taken it, than that you have administered a- 'ny Cause unto them for so doing, from Delays, 'from Hopes that this Parliament would not set- 'tle; from Pamphlets, mentioning strange Votes 'and Resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse 'you. Thus you see, whatever the Grounds were, 'these have been the Effects. And thus I have 'laid these Things before you, and you and others 'will be easily able to judge how far you are con- 'cerned.

'And what have these Men done? They have al- 'so laboured to pervert where they could, and as 'they could, the honest-meaning People of the Na- 'tion. They have laboured to engage some in the 'Army; and I doubt that not only they, but some 'others also, very well known to you, have help- 'ed in this Work of debauching and dividing the

'Army;

'Army; they have, they have, I would be loath 'to ſay, who, where, and how, much more loath 'to ſay they were any of your own Number; but 'I can ſay, Endeavours have been to put the Ar- 'my into a Diſtemper, and to feed that which is 'the worſt Humour in the Army; which, though 'it was not a maſtering Humour, yet theſe took 'their Advantage from Delay of the Settlement, 'and the Practices before-mentioned, and ſtopping 'the Pay of the Army, to run us into Free Quar- 'ter, and to bring us into the Inconveniences moſt 'to be feared and avoided.

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'What if I am able to make it appear in Fact, that 'ſome amongſt you have run into the City of *Lon- 'don*, to perſuade to Petitions and Addreſſes to you 'for reverſing your own Votes that you have paſſed? 'Whether theſe Practices were in favour of your Li- 'berties, or tended to beget Hopes of Peace and Set- 'tlement from you; and whether debauching the 'Army in *England*, as is before expreſſed, and 'ſtarving it, and putting it upon Free Quarter, 'and occaſioning and neceſſitating the greateſt Part 'thereof in *Scotland* to march into *England*, lea- 'ving the Remainder thereof to have their Throats 'cut there; and kindling, by the reſt, a Fire in our 'own Boſoms, were for the Advantage of Affairs 'here, let the World judge?

'This I tell you alſo, that the Correſpondency 'held with the Intereſt of the Cavaliers, by that 'Party of Men called Levellers, and who call them- 'ſelves Commonwealths Men; whoſe Declarati- 'ons were framed to that Purpoſe, and ready to be 'publiſhed at the Time of their common Riſing, 'whereof we are poſſeſſed, and for which we have 'the Confeſſion of themſelves now in Cuſtody[d]; 'who confeſs alſo they built their Hopes upon the 'Aſſurance they had of the Parliament's not a- 'greeing to a Settlement, whether theſe Humours 'have not nouriſhed themſelves under your Boughs, 'is

[d] Many Examinations, Letters of Intelligence, and other Papers above referred to, may be found in *Thurloe*, Vol. III. p. 64, *et ſeq.*

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'is the Subject of my preſent Diſcourſe; and I 'think I ſay not amiſs if I affirm it to be ſo.

'And I muſt ſay it again, that that which hath 'been their Advantage, thus to raiſe Diſturbance, 'hath been by the Loſs of thoſe golden Opportuni- 'ties that God hath put into your Hands for Settle- 'ment. Judge you whether theſe Things were thus 'or not when you firſt ſat down; I am ſure Things 'were not thus; there was a very great Peace and 'Sedateneſs throughout theſe Nations, and great 'Expectations of a happy Settlement, which I re- 'membered to you at the Beginning of my Speech, 'and hoped that you would have entered upon your 'Buſineſs as you found it.

'There was a Government in the Poſſeſſion of 'the People; I ſay a Government in the Poſſeſſion 'of the People for many Months; it hath now been 'exerciſed near fifteen Months; and if it were 'needful that I ſhould tell you how it came into their 'Poſſeſſion, and how willingly they received it; 'how all Law and Juſtice were diſtributed from it 'in every reſpect, as to Life, Liberty, and Eſtate; 'how it was owned by God, as being the Diſ- 'penſation of his Providence, after twelve Years 'War, and ſealed and witneſſed unto by the 'People, I ſhould but repeat what I ſaid in my laſt 'Speech made unto you in this Place, and there- 'fore I forbear.

'When you were entered upon this Govern- 'ment, ravelling into it, (you know I took no No- 'tice what you were doing) if you had gone upon 'that Foot of Account, to have made ſuch good 'and wholeſome Proviſions for the Good of the 'People of theſe Nations, for the Settling of ſuch 'Matters in Things of Religion as would have up- 'held and given Countenance to a godly Miniſtry; 'and yet would have given a juſt Liberty to god- 'ly Men of different Judgments, Men of the ſame 'Faith with them that you call the Orthodox Mi- 'niſtry in *England*, as it is well known the Inde- 'pendents are, and many under the Form of Bap- 'tiſm, who are found in the Faith, only may per-

'haps

'haps be different in Judgment in ſome leſſer Mat- Inter-regnum.
'ters; yet as true Chriſtians, both looking at Sal- 1654.
'vation only by Faith in the Blood of *Chriſt*; January.
'Men profeſſing the Fear of God, having Recourſe
'to the Name of God, as to a ſtrong Tower; I
'ſay you might have had Opportunity to have ſet-
'tled Peace and Quietneſs amongſt all profeſſing
'Godlineſs, and might have been inſtrumental,
'if not to have healed the Breaches, yet to have
'kept the Godly of all Judgments from running
'one upon another; and by keeping them from
'being over-run by a common Enemy, rendered
'them and theſe Nations both ſecure, happy,
'and well ſatisfied.

'Are theſe Things done, or any Thing towards
'them? Is there not yet upon the Spirits of Men
'a ſtrange Itch? Nothing will ſatisfy them, unleſs
'they can put their Finger upon their Brethrens
'Conſciences, to pinch them there. To do this
'was no Part of the Conteſt we had with the com-
'mon Adverſary; for Religion was not the Thing
'at the firſt conteſted for; but God brought it to
'that Iſſue at laſt, and gave it unto us by way of
'Redundancy; and at laſt it proved to be that
'which was moſt dear to us; and wherein conſiſted
'this, more than in obtaining that Liberty, from
'the Tyranny of the Biſhops, to all Species of Pro-
'teſtants, to worſhip God according to their own
'Light and Conſciences? For want of which
'many of our Brethren forſook their native Coun-
'tries, to ſeek their Bread from Strangers, and to
'live in howling Wilderneſſes; and for which
'alſo many that remained here were impriſoned
'and otherwiſe abuſed, and made the Scorn of the
'Nation.

'Thoſe that were found in the Faith, how pro-
'per was it for them to labour for Liberty, for a juſt
'Liberty, that Men ſhould not be trampled upon
'for their Conſciences? Had not they laboured but
'lately under the Weight of Perſecutions, and
'was it fit for them to ſit heavy upon others? Is
'it ingenuous to aſk Liberty, and not to give it?

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'What greater Hypocriſy, than for thoſe who were 'oppreſſed by the Biſhops to become the greateſt 'Oppreſſors themſelves, ſo ſoon as their Yoke was 'removed? I could wiſh that they who call for 'Liberty now alſo had not too much of that Spirit, 'if the Power were in their Hands.

'As for profane Perſons, Blaſphemers, ſuch as 'preach Sedition, the contentious Railers, evil 'Speakers, who ſeek, by evil Words, to corrupt 'good Manners, Perſons of looſe Converſations, 'Puniſhment from the Civil Magiſtrate ought to 'meet with them; becauſe, if theſe pretend Con-'ſcience, yet walking diſorderly, and not accord-'ing but contrary to the Goſpel, and even to na-'tural Light, they are judged of all; and their 'Sins, being open, make them Subjects of the 'Magiſtrates Sword, who ought not to bear it 'in vain.

'The Diſcipline of the Army was ſuch, that a 'Man would not be ſuffered to remain there, of 'whom we could take Notice he was guilty of 'ſuch Practices as theſe: And therefore how hap-'py would *England* have been, and you, and I, if 'the Lord had led you on to have ſettled upon ſuch 'good Accounts as theſe are, and to have diſcoun-'tenanced ſuch Practices as the other, and left 'Men in diſputable Things free to their own Con-'ſciences; which was well provided for by the 'Government, and Liberty left to provide againſt 'what was apparently evil.

'Judge you, whether the conteſting for Things 'that were provided for by this Government hath 'been profitable Expence of Time for the Good 'of theſe Nations? By Means whereof you may 'ſee you have wholly elapſed your Time, and 'done juſt nothing.

'I will ſay this to you in Behalf of the Long 'Parliament, that had ſuch an Expedient as this 'Government been propoſed to them, and that 'they could have ſeen the Cauſe of God thus pro-'vided for; and had, by Debates, been enlightened 'in the Grounds by which the Difficulties might 'have

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'have been cleared, and the Reaſon of the whole 'inforced, the Circumſtances of Time and Per- 'ſons, with the Temper and Diſpoſitions of the 'People, and Affairs both Abroad and at Home, 'when it was undertaken, well weighed, (as well 'as they were thought to love their Seats) I think 'in my Conſcience, that they would have proceed- 'ed in another Manner than you have done; and 'not have expoſed Things to thoſe Difficulties and 'Hazards they now are at, nor given Occaſion to 'leave the People ſo diſſettled as now they are; 'who, I dare ſay, in the ſobereſt and moſt judicious 'Part of them, did expect not a queſtioning, but 'a doing Things in Purſuance of the Government; 'and, if I be not miſinformed, very many of you 'came up with this Satisfaction, having had Time 'enough to weigh and conſider the ſame.

'And when I ſay ſuch an Expedient as this Go- 'vernment is, wherein I dare aſſert there is a juſt 'Liberty to the People of God, and the juſt Rights 'of the People in theſe Nations provided for, I 'can put the Iſſue thereof upon the cleareſt Reaſon, 'whatſoever any go about to ſuggeſt to the contrary.

'But this not being the Time and Place of ſuch 'an Averment, for Satisfaction Sake herein enough 'is ſaid in a Book, intituled, *A State of the Caſe 'of the Commonwealth*, &c. publiſhed in *January* '1654[b]: And for myſelf I deſire not to keep it an 'Hour longer than I may preſerve *England* in its

[b] The Title at large of this Piece, which we have in our *Collections*, runs thus, *A true State of the Caſe of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging, in reference to the late eſtabliſhed Government by a Lord Protector and a Parliament; manifeſting therein not only a Conſiſtency with, and neceſſary Conſequence upon, the foregoing Alterations, but alſo a full Conformity to the declared Principles and Engagements of the Parliament and Army: It being the Judgment of divers Perſons, who, throughout theſe late Troubles, have approv'd themſelves faithful to the Cauſe and Intereſt of God and their Country, and preſented to the Public for the Satisfaction of others.* London, *printed by* Thomas Newcomb.

It is wrote with great Spirit of Language and Subtilty of Argument; and, from many Paſſages therein, it ſeems highly probable that *Cromwell* was not a little concerned in the penning of it.

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'juſt Rights, and may protect the People of God 'in ſuch a juſt Liberty of their Conſciences as I 'have already mentioned; and therefore if this 'Parliament have judged Things to be otherwiſe 'than as I have ſtated them, it had been huge 'Friendlineſs between Perſons that had ſuch a Re-'ciprocation, and in ſo great Concernments to the 'Publick, for them to have convinced me in what 'Particulars therein my Error lay, of which I ne-'ver yet had a Word from you: But, if inſtead 'thereof, your Time has been ſpent in ſetting up 'ſomewhat elſe upon another Bottom than this 'ſtands, that looks as if the laying Grounds of a 'Quarrel had rather been deſigned, than to give 'the People Settlement; if it be thus, 'tis well 'your Labours have not arrived to any Maturity 'at all.

'This Government called you hither, the Con-'ſtitution thereof being ſo limited, a Single Per-'ſon and a Parliament; and this was thought moſt 'agreeable to the general Senſe of the Nation, ha-'ving had Experience enough by Trial of other 'Concluſions, judging this moſt likely to avoid 'the Extremes of Monarchy on the one Hand, and 'Democracy on the other, and yet not to found '*Dominium in Gratia*; and, if ſo, then certainly 'to make it more than a Notion it was requiſite 'that it ſhould be as it is in the Government, which 'puts it upon a true and equal Balance. It has 'been already ſubmitted to the judicious honeſt 'People of this Nation, whether the Balance be not 'equal; and what their Judgment is, is viſible, by 'Submiſſion to it, by acting upon it, by reſtraining 'their Truſtees from meddling with it; and it 'neither aſks or needs any better Ratification. But 'when Truſtees in Parliament ſhall, by Experience, 'find any Evil in any Parts of the Government, 'referred by the Government itſelf to the Conſi-'deration of the Protector and Parliament (of 'which Time itſelf will be the beſt Diſcoverer) 'how can it be reaſonably imagined, that a Per-'ſon, or Perſons, coming in by Election, and

'ſtanding

'ſtanding under ſuch Obligations, and ſo limited, Inter-regnum.
'and ſo neceſſitated by Oath to govern for the 1654.
'People's Good, and to make their Love, un- January.
'der God, the beſt Under-propping, and his
'beſt Intereſt to him; how can it, I ſay, be imagi-
'ned, that the preſent or ſucceeding Protectors will
'refuſe to agree to alter any ſuch Thing in the Go-
'vernment that may be found to be for the Good
'of the People, or to recede from any Thing which
'he might be convinced caſts the Balance too
'much to the Single Perſon? And although, for
'the preſent, the keeping up, and having in his
'Power, the Militia ſeems the moſt hard, yet if
'it ſhould be yeilded up at ſuch a Time as this,
'when there is as much need to keep this Cauſe
'by it (which is moſt evidently at this Time im-
'pugned by all the Enemies of it) as there was to
'get it, what would become of all? Or if it ſhould
'not be equally placed in him and the Parliament,
'but yielded up at any Time, it determines his
'Power, either for doing the Good he ought, or
'hindering Parliaments from perpetuating them-
'ſelves, or from impoſing what Religions they
'pleaſe on the Conſciences of Men, or what Go-
'vernment they pleaſe upon the Nation; thereby
'ſubjecting us to Diſſettlement in every Parliament,
'and to the deſperate Conſequences thereof: And
'if the Nation ſhall happen to fall into a bleſſed
'Peace, how eaſily and certainly will their Charge
'be taken off, and their Forces be diſbanded; and
'then where will the Danger be to have the Mili-
'tia thus ſtated?

'What if I ſhould ſay, If there ſhould be a Diſ-
'proportion or Diſequality as to the Power, it is
'on the other Hand; and, if this be ſo, wherein
'have you had Cauſe to quarrel? What Demon-
'ſtrations have you held forth to ſettle me to your
'Opinion? I would you had made me ſo happy as
'to have let me have known your Grounds. I
'have made a free and ingenuous Confeſſion of my
'Faith to you, and I could have wiſhed it had been
'in your Hearts to have agreed that ſome friendly

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'and cordial Debates might have been towards
'mutual Conviction: Was there none amongst
'you to move ſuch a Thing? No Fitneſs to liſten
'to it? No Deſire of a right Underſtanding? If it
'be not Folly in me to liſten to Town-talk, ſuch
'Things have been propoſed, and rejected with
'Stiffneſs and Severity, once and again; was it
'not likely to have been more advantageous to
'the Good of this Nation? I will ſay this to
'you for myſelf, and to that I have my Conſcience
'as a thouſand Witneſſes, and I have my Comfort
'and Contentment in it, and I have the Witness
'of divers here, that, I think, truly ſcorn to owe
'me in a Lye, that I would not have been averſe
'to any Alteration, of the Good of which I might
'have been convinced, although I could not have
'agreed to the taking it off the Foundation on
'which it ſtands, *viz.* the Acceptation and Conſent of the People.

'I will not preſage what you have been about
'or doing in all this Time, nor do I love to make
'Conjectures; but I muſt tell you this, that as I
'undertook this Government in the Simplicity of
'my Heart, and as before God, and to do the
'Part of an honeſt Man, and to be true to the
'Intereſt which, in my Conſcience, is dear to
'many of you, (though it is not always underſtood
'what God in his Wiſdom may hide from us,
'to Peace and Settlement) ſo I can ſay, that no
'particular Intereſt, either of myſelf, Eſtate, Honour, or Family, are, or have been, prevalent
'with me to this Undertaking.

'For if you had, upon the old Governments
'offered to me this one, this one Thing, (I ſpeak
'as thus adviſed, and before God, as having been
'to this Day of this Opinion; and this hath been
'my conſtant Judgment, well known to many that
'hear me ſpeak) if this one Thing had been inſerted, this one Thing that the Government
'ſhould have been placed in my Family Hereditarily, I would have rejected it; and I could
'have done no other, according to my preſent

'Co

'Conſcience and Light; I will tell you my Rea- Inter-regnum.
'ſon, though I cannot tell what God will do with 1654.
'me, nor you, nor the Nation, for throwing away January.
'precious Opportunities committed to us.

'This hath been my Principle, and I liked it 'when this Government came firſt to be propoſed 'to me, that it puts us off that Hereditary Way; 'well looking, that as God had declared what 'Government he had delivered over to the *Jews*, 'and placed it upon ſuch Perſons as had been in- 'ſtrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of his 'People: And conſidering that Promiſe in *Iſaiah*, 'that God would *give Rulers as at the firſt, and* '*Judges as at the Beginning*, I did not know but 'that God might begin; and though at preſent 'with a moſt unworthy Perſon, yet, as to the fu- 'ture, it might be after this Manner, and I thought 'this might uſher it in. I am ſpeaking as to my 'Judgment againſt making it Hereditary, to have 'Men choſen for their Love to God, and to Truth 'and Juſtice, and not to have it Hereditary; for as 'it is in *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Who knoweth whether he may* '*beget a Fool or a wiſe Man*, honeſt or not? What- 'ever they be, they muſt come in on that Account, 'becauſe the Government is made a Patrimony.

'And this I do perhaps declare with too much 'Earneſtneſs, as being my own Concernment, and 'know not what Place it may have in your Hearts, 'and of the good People in the Nation; but, how- 'ever it be, I have Comfort in this my Truth and 'Plainneſs.

'I have thus told you my Thoughts, which, 'truly, I have declared to you in the Fear of God, 'as knowing he will not be mocked; and in the 'Strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that 'I am kept in my ſpeaking; eſpecially when I do 'not form or frame Things without the Compaſs 'of Integrity and Honeſty, that my own Conſci- 'ence gives me not the Lye to what I ſay; and 'then, in what I ſay, I can rejoice.

'Now, to ſpeak a Word or two to you: Of that 'I muſt profeſs, in the Name of the ſame Lord,

'and

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'and with that there had been no Cauſe that I
'ſhould have thus ſpoken to you; and though I
'have told you that I came with Joy the firſt Time,
'with ſome Regret the ſecond, yet now I ſpeak
'with moſt Regret of all.

'I look upon you, as having among you many
'Perſons that I could lay down my Life individu-
'ally for; I could, through the Grace of God,
'deſire to lay down my Life for you; ſo far am I
'from having an unkind or unchriſtian Heart to-
'wards you in your particular Capacities.

'I have this indeed as a Work moſt incumbent
'upon me; I conſulted what might be my Duty
'in ſuch a Day as this, caſting up all Conſidera-
'tions. I muſt confeſs, as I told you, that I do
'think, occaſionally, this Nation hath ſuffered
'extremely in the Reſpects mentioned, as alſo in
'the Diſappointments of their Expectations of that
'Juſtice that was due to them by your ſitting thus
'long; and what have you brought forth?

'I did not, nor cannot, apprehend what it is
'I would be loath to call it a Fate, that were to
'*Paganiſh* a Word; but there was ſomething in
'it that we have not in our Expectations.

'I did think alſo, for myſelf, that I am like to
'meet with Difficulties; and that this Nation will
'not, as it is fit it ſhould not, be deluded with
'Pretexts of Neceſſity in that great Buſineſs of
'raiſing of Money: And were it not that I can
'make ſome Dilemma's, upon which to reſolve
'ſome Things of my Conſcience, Judgment, and
'Actions, I ſhould ſink at the very Proſpect of my
'Encounters; ſome of them are general, ſome are
'more ſpecial. Suppoſing this Cauſe, or this Buſi-
'neſs, muſt be carried on, it is either of God,
'of Man; if it be of Man, I would I had never
'touched it with a Finger. If I had not had
'Hope fix'd in me that this Cauſe, and this Buſi-
'neſs, is of God, I would many Years ago have
'run from it: if it be of God, he will bear it up;
'if it be of Man, it will tumble, as every Thing
'that hath been of Man ſince the World began.

'hath

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'hath done. And what are all our Hiſtories, and 'other Traditions of Actions in former Times, 'but God manifeſting himſelf, that he hath ſhaken 'and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every 'Thing that he hath not planted? And as this is, 'ſo the All-wiſe God deal with it.

'If this be of human Structure and Invention, 'and it be an old Plotting and Contrivance to bring 'Things to this Iſſue, and that they are not the 'Births of Providence, then they will tumble: 'But if the Lord take Pleaſure in *England*, and if 'he will do us good, he is able to bear us up; let 'the Difficulties be whatſoever they will, we ſhall, 'in his Strength, be able to encounter with them. 'And, I bleſs God, I have been inured to Diffi-'culties, and I never found God failing when I 'truſted in him: I can laugh and ſing in my Heart 'when I ſpeak of theſe Things to you, or elſe-'where. And tho' ſome may think it is an hard 'Thing, without Parliamentary Authority, to raiſe 'Money upon this Nation; yet I have another 'Argument to the good People of this Nation, if 'they would be ſafe, and have no better Principle; 'whether they prefer the having of their Will, 'though it be their Deſtruction, rather than com-'ply with Things of Neceſſity? That will excuſe 'me; but I ſhould wrong my native Country to 'ſuppoſe this.

'For I look at the People of theſe Nations as the 'Bleſſing of the Lord, and they are a People bleſ-'ſed by God. They have been ſo, and they will 'be ſo, by reaſon of that immortal Seed which 'hath been and is among them, thoſe regenerated 'Ones in the Land, of ſeveral Judgments, who are 'all the Flock of *Chriſt*, and Lambs of *Chriſt*, 'though perhaps under many unruly Paſſions and 'Troubles of Spirit, whereby they give Diſquiet 'to themſelves and others; yet they are not ſo to 'God as to us; he is a God of other Patience, 'and he will own the leaſt of Truth in the Hearts 'of his People; and the People being the Bleſſing

'of

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'of God, they will not be ſo angry but they will 'prefer their Safety to their Paſſions, and their real 'Security to Forms, when Neceſſity calls for Sup- 'plies. Had they not well been acquainted with 'this Principle, they had never ſeen this Day of 'Goſpel-Liberty.

'But if any Man ſhall object, It is an eaſy Thing 'to talk of Neceſſities, when Men create Neceſſi- 'ties; would not the Lord Protector make himſelf 'great, and his Family great? Doth not he make 'theſe Neceſſities? And then he will come upon 'the People with this Argument of Neceſſity.

'This were ſomething hard indeed; but I have 'not yet known what it is to make Neceſſities, 'whatſoever the Judgments or Thoughts of Men 'are. And I ſay this, not only to this Aſſembly 'but to the World, that that Man liveth not that 'can come to me and charge me that I have, in 'theſe great Revolutions, made Neceſſities; I chal- 'lenge even all that fear God; and as God hath 'ſaid, *my Glory I will not give unto another*; let 'Men take heed, and be twice adviſed, how they 'call his Revolutions the Things of God, and his 'working of Things from one Period to another, 'how, I ſay, they call them Neceſſities of Men's 'Creation; for by ſo doing they do vilify and leſſen 'the Works of God, and rob him of his Glory, 'which, he hath ſaid, he *will not give unto another*, 'nor ſuffer to be taken from him. We know 'what God did to *Herod* when he was applauded, 'and did not acknowledge God; and God know- 'eth what he will do with Men when they ſhall 'call his Revolutions human Deſigns, and ſo de- 'tract from his Glory, when they have not been 'forecaſt, but ſudden Providences in Things, 'whereby carnal and worldly Men are enraged; 'and under and at which many, I fear, (ſome 'good) have murmured and repined, becauſe diſ- 'appointed of their miſtaken Fancies: But ſtill 'they have been the wiſe Diſpoſings of the Al- 'mighty, though Inſtruments have had their Paſ-

'ſions

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'ſions and Frailties; and I think it is an Honour 'to God to acknowledge the Neceſſities to have 'been of God's impoſing, when truly they have 'been ſo, as indeed they have, when we take our 'Sin in our Actings to ourſelves; and much more 'ſafe than to judge Things ſo contingent as if 'there were not a God that ruled the Earth.

'We know the Lord hath poured this Nation 'from Veſſel to Veſſel, till he poured it into your 'Lap, when you came firſt together: I am confi-'dent that it came ſo into your Hands; and was not 'judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned 'Neceſſity, but by Divine Providence and Diſpen-'ſation. And this I ſpeak with more Earneſtneſs, 'becauſe I ſpeak for God, and not for Men; I 'would have any Man to come and tell of the 'Tranſactions that have been, and of thoſe Periods 'of Time wherein God hath made theſe Revo-'lutions, and find where they can fix a feigned 'Neceſſity.

'I could recite Particulars, if either my Strength 'would ſerve me to ſpeak, or yours to hear; if 'that you would revolve the great Hand of God in 'his great Diſpenſations, you would find that there 'is ſcarce a Man that fell off at any Period of 'Time when God had any Work to do, that can 'give God or his Work, at this Day, a good 'Word.

'It was, ſay ſome, the Cunning of the Lord 'Protector; I take it to myſelf: It was the Craft of 'ſuch a Man, and his Plot that hath brought it 'about: And, as they ſay in other Countries, there 'are five or ſix cunning Men in *England* that have 'Skill, they do all theſe Things: Oh what Blaſ-'phemy is this! becauſe Men, that are without God 'in the World, and walk not with him, know 'not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive 'Returns from God, and to be ſpoken unto by the 'Spirit of God, who ſpeaks without a written 'Word ſometimes, yet according to it. God hath 'ſpoken heretofore in divers Manners, let him 'ſpeak as he pleaſeth: Hath he not given us Li-

'berty?

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'berty? Nay, is it not our Duty to go to the Law 'and to the Teſtimony? And there we ſhall find 'that there have been Impreſſions in extraordinary 'Caſes, as well without the written Word as with 'it; and therefore there is no Difference in the 'Thing thus aſſerted from Truths generally re-'ceived, except we will exclude the Spirit, with-'out whoſe Concurrence all other Teachings are 'ineffectual. He doth ſpeak to the Hearts and Con-'ſciences of Men, and leadeth them to his Law 'and Teſtimony; and there he ſpeaks to them, 'and ſo gives them double Teachings according to 'that of *Job*, *God ſpeaketh once, yea twice*; and 'that of *David*, *God hath ſpoken once, yea twice 'have I heard this.* Thoſe Men that live upon 'their *Mumpſimus* and *Sumpſimus*[c], their Maſſes 'and Service-Books, their dead and carnal Wor-'ſhip, no Marvel if they be Strangers to God, 'and the Works of God, and to Spiritual Diſpen-'ſations. And becauſe they ſay and believe thus, 'muſt we do ſo too? We in this Land have been 'otherwiſe inſtructed, even by the Word, and 'Works, and Spirit of God.

'To ſay that Men bring forth theſe Things, 'when God doth them, judge you if God will 'bear this. I wiſh that every ſober Heart, tho' 'he hath had Temptations upon him of deſerting 'this Cauſe of God, yet may take heed how he 'provokes, and falls into the Hands of, the living 'God by ſuch Blaſphemies as theſe, according to 'the tenth of the *Hebrews*, *If we ſin wilfully after 'that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, 'there remains no more Sacrifice for Sin.* It was 'ſpoken to the *Jews* that, having profeſſed *Chriſt*, 'apoſtatized from him: What then? Nothing 'but *a fearful Falling into the Hands of the living 'God.*

'They that ſhall attribute to this or that Perſon 'the Contrivances and Production of thoſe mighty 'Things

[c] *Cromwell* ſeems to have borrowed this Expreſſion from King *Henry* the Eighth's laſt Speech to his Parliament, *Anno* 1546. *See our Third Volume*, p. 205.

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'Things God hath wrought in the midſt of us; 'and that they have not been the Revolutions of '*Chriſt* himſelf, upon whoſe Shoulders the Go- 'vernment is laid, they ſpeak againſt God, and 'they fall under his Hand without a Mediator; 'that is, if we deny the Spirit of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the 'Glory of all his Works in the World, by which 'he rules Kingdoms, and doth adminiſter, and is 'the Rod of his Strength, we provoke the Medi- 'ator; and he may ſay, I'll leave you to God, 'I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to 'Pieces; I'll leave thee to fall into God's Hands; 'thou denieſt me my Sovereignty and Power com- 'mitted to me; I'll not intercede nor mediate for 'thee, thou falleſt into the Hands of the living 'God: Therefore whatſoever you may judge Men 'for, and ſay, This Man is cunning, and politic, 'and ſubtle; take heed again, I ſay, how you 'judge of his Revolutions, as the Products of Men's 'Inventions.

'I may be thought to preſs too much upon this 'Theme; but I pray God it may ſtick upon your 'Hearts and mine. The worldly-minded Man 'knows nothing of this, but is a Stranger to it; 'and becauſe of this, his Atheiſms and Murmur- 'ings at Inſtruments, yea, repining at God him- 'ſelf: And no Wonder, conſidering the Lord hath 'done ſuch Things amongſt us as have not been 'known in the World theſe thouſand Years; and 'yet, notwithſtanding, is not owned by us.

'There is another Neceſſity which you have put 'upon us, and we have not ſought. I appeal to 'God, Angels, and Men, if I ſhall raiſe Money 'according to the Article in the Government 'which had Power to call you hither, and did; 'and, inſtead of ſeaſonably providing for the Ar- 'my, you have laboured to overthrow the Govern- 'ment, and the Army is now upon Free Quarter; 'and you would never ſo much as let me hear a 'Tittle from you concerning it: Where is the 'Fault? Has it not been as if you had a Purpoſe to 'put this Extremity upon us and the Nation? I 'hope

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'hope this was not in your Minds, I am not wil-
'ling to judge ſo; but this is the State unto which
'we are reduced. By the Deſigns of ſome in the
'Army, who are now in Cuſtody [f], it was deſign'd
'to get as many of them as could, (through Diſ-
'content for want of Money, the Army being in
'a barren Country, near thirty Weeks behind in
'Pay, and upon other ſpecious Pretences) to
'march for *England* out of *Scotland*; and, in Diſ-
'content, to ſeize their General there, a faithful
'and honeſt Man, that ſo another might head the
'Army, and all this Opportunity taken from your
'Delays: Whether will this be a Thing of feign'd
'Neceſſity? What could it ſignify, but that the
'Army are in Diſcontent already; and, we'll
'make them live upon Stones; we'll make them
'caſt off their Governors and Diſcipline? What
'can be ſaid to this? I liſt not to unſaddle myſelf,
'and put the Fault upon others Backs: Whether
'it hath been for the Good of *England*, whilſt Men
'have been talking of this Thing or the other,
'and pretending Liberty, and many good Words,
'whether it has been as it ſhould have been? I
'am confident you cannot think it has, the Nation
'will not think ſo. And, if the Worſt ſhould be
'made of Things, I know not what the *Corniſh*
'Men, or the *Lincolnſhire* Men, may think, or
'other Counties; but I believe they will all think
'they are not ſafe. A temporary Suſpenſion of
'caring for the greateſt Liberties and Privileges
'(if it were ſo, which is denied) would not have
'been of that Damage, that the not providing
'againſt Free Quarter hath run the Nation upon.
'And if it be my Liberty to walk abroad in the
'Fields, or to take a Journey, yet it is not my
'Wiſdom to do ſo when my Houſe is on Fire.

'I have troubled you with a long Speech, and
'I believe it may not have the ſame Reſentment
'with

[f] Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, Major-Generals *Harriſon* and *Overton*, Colonels *Rich*, *Carew*, *Courtney*, and others.

Thurloe, Vol. III. p. 64, 66, 67, 147, *et ſeq.*

'with all that it hath with ſome: But becauſe that 'is unknown to me, I ſhall leave it to God, and 'conclude with this; That I think myſelf bound as 'in my Duty to God and the People of theſe Na- 'tions, to their Safety and Good in every Reſpect, 'I think it my Duty to tell you, That it is not for 'the Profit of theſe Nations, nor for Common and 'Public Good, for you to continue here any long- 'er; and therefore I do declare unto you, That 'I do diſſolve this Parliament.' Inter-regnum. 1654. February.

Cromwell having now got rid of his Parliament, becauſe he found them not ſo pliable to his Purpoſes as he expected, he and his Council applied themſelves cloſely to the making of Laws without them. The firſt Thing they did was to paſs an Ordinance for laying an Aſſeſſment of 60,000 *l. per Menſem* for the Maintenance of the Army and Navy; they alſo paſſed an Ordinance for Continuance of the Alms-Houſes and poor Knights of *Windſor-Caſtle*; and another for inforcing the Acts and Ordinances made before the Meeting of the laſt Parliament, touching the collecting of the Exciſe throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; beſides which ſome other Ordinances were alſo framed to ſoften the Minds of the People, and reconcile them to the Protector's Government, by lightening the Burdens and Inconveniences in the Proceedings of the Law, and other Matters, an Account of which will be given hereafter. Ordinances paſſed by *Cromwell* and his Council.

February. About this Time a Plot was diſcovered, which had been laid by the Royaliſts, and was to have been executed in different Parts of the Kingdom at the ſame Time: But being unſucceſsful, it proved a lucky Incident to *Cromwell*, by ſerving the more effectually to ſtrengthen his Uſurpation: Beſides, it diverted the Minds of the People from reflecting ſo warmly on the Protector's late Actions, as they otherwiſe might have done. Upon the firſt Information thereof he ſent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Coun- A Plot againſt him defeated.

Inter-regnum. 1654. January.

'berty? Nay, is it not our Duty to go to the Law 'and to the Teſtimony? And there we ſhall find 'that there have been Impreſſions in extraordinary 'Caſes, as well without the written Word as with 'it; and therefore there is no Difference in the 'Thing thus aſſerted from Truths generally re-'ceived, except we will exclude the Spirit, with-'out whoſe Concurrence all other Teachings are 'ineffectual. He doth ſpeak to the Hearts and Con-'ſciences of Men, and leadeth them to his Law 'and Teſtimony; and there he ſpeaks to them, 'and ſo gives them double Teachings according to 'that of *Job*, *God ſpeaketh once, yea twice*; and 'that of *David*, *God hath ſpoken once, yea twice 'have I heard this.* Thoſe Men that live upon 'their *Mumpſimus* and *Sumpſimus*[e], their Maſſes 'and Service-Books, their dead and carnal Wor-'ſhip, no Marvel if they be Strangers to God, 'and the Works of God, and to Spiritual Diſpen-'ſations. And becauſe they ſay and believe thus, 'muſt we do ſo too? We in this Land have been 'otherwiſe inſtructed, even by the Word, and 'Works, and Spirit of God.

'To ſay that Men bring forth theſe Things, 'when God doth them, judge you if God will 'bear this. I wiſh that every ſober Heart, tho' 'he hath had Temptations upon him of deſerting 'this Cauſe of God, yet may take heed how he 'provokes, and falls into the Hands of, the living 'God by ſuch Blaſphemies as theſe, according to 'the tenth of the *Hebrews*, *If we ſin wilfully after 'that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, 'there remains no more Sacrifice for Sin.* It was 'ſpoken to the *Jews* that, having profeſſed *Chriſt*, 'apoſtatized from him: What then? Nothing 'but *a fearful Falling into the Hands of the living 'God.*

'They that ſhall attribute to this or that Perſon 'the Contrivances and Production of thoſe mighty 'Things

[e] *Cromwell* ſeems to have borrowed this Expreſſion from King *Henry* the Eighth's laſt Speech to his Parliament, *Anno* 1546. *See our Third Volume*, p. 205.

Inter-regnum. 1654. January.

'Things God hath wrought in the midſt of us; 'and that they have not been the Revolutions of '*Chriſt* himſelf, upon whoſe Shoulders the Go- 'vernment is laid, they ſpeak againſt God, and 'they fall under his Hand without a Mediator; 'that is, if we deny the Spirit of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the 'Glory of all his Works in the World, by which 'he rules Kingdoms, and doth adminiſter, and is 'the Rod of his Strength, we provoke the Medi- 'ator; and he may ſay, I'll leave you to God, 'I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to 'Pieces; I'll leave thee to fall into God's Hands; 'thou denieſt me my Sovereignty and Power com- 'mitted to me; I'll not intercede nor mediate for 'thee, thou falleſt into the Hands of the living 'God: Therefore whatſoever you may judge Men 'for, and ſay, This Man is cunning, and politic, 'and ſubtle; take heed again, I ſay, how you 'judge of his Revolutions, as the Products of Men's 'Inventions.

'I may be thought to preſs too much upon this 'Theme; but I pray God it may ſtick upon your 'Hearts and mine. The worldly-minded Man 'knows nothing of this, but is a Stranger to it; 'and becauſe of this, his Atheiſms and Murmur- 'ings at Inſtruments, yea, repining at God him- 'ſelf: And no Wonder, conſidering the Lord hath 'done ſuch Things amongſt us as have not been 'known in the World theſe thouſand Years; and 'yet, notwithſtanding, is not owned by us.

'There is another Neceſſity which you have put 'upon us, and we have not ſought. I appeal to 'God, Angels, and Men, if I ſhall raiſe Money 'according to the Article in the Government 'which had Power to call you hither, and did; 'and, inſtead of ſeaſonably providing for the Ar- 'my, you have laboured to overthrow the Govern- 'ment, and the Army is now upon Free Quarter; 'and you would never ſo much as let me hear a 'Tittle from you concerning it: Where is the 'Fault? Has it not been as if you had a Purpoſe to 'put this Extremity upon us and the Nation? I 'hope

Inter-regnum. 1655. April.

Council of *London*; and, acquainting them with the Conſpiracy againſt him, required them to take Care of the Peace of the City, for which Purpoſe he gave them a Commiſſion to raiſe Forces under Major-General *Skippon*. He alſo iſſued a Proclamation for prohibiting Horſe-Races for ſix Months, leſt the great Concourſe of People, uſually frequenting ſuch Meetings, ſhould furniſh Opportunities for raiſing freſh Troubles in the Commonwealth; another for putting in Execution the Laws and Ordinances againſt Jeſuits and *Romiſh* Prieſts, and for the ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants; and a third for commanding all Perſons, who had been of the late King's Party, or his Son's, to depart out of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and within twenty Miles thereof, (unleſs it were their proper Place of Habitation) within ſix Days after the Publication of the ſaid Proclamation.

Mr. *Ludlow* ſeems to blame the King of *Scots*, as he calls him, for engaging his Friends in this deſperate Undertaking, which coſt the Lives of many, when he might ſee clearly his Game was playing by the Uſurper, through the Diviſions he made amongſt thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to be united in Oppoſition to the King [a]. *Cromwell*, who ſpared no Money to get Intelligence of theſe Deſigns, was before-hand with the Royaliſts, and ſeized upon many of them e'er they had Time to draw together; others, that were up in Arms, were diſcomfited and taken, and all the Priſons in *England* were filled with them.

1655.

April. Now followed Executions upon Executions in different Places; after which came Confiſcations and other ſevere Penalties, exacted from the whole Royal Party; in which *Cromwell* broke through all their Compoſitions, and even the Act of Oblivion itſelf, in obtaining and paſſing of which

[a] *Memoirs*, p. 513.

which he had ſo great a Hand, when it was his Intereſt to cajole the Cavalier Party: To this End he and his Council paſſed an Ordinance for levying a tenth Part of their Eſtates to maintain, as he pretended, thoſe extraordinary Forces, which their turbulent and ſeditious Practices obliged him to keep up; and, in order to put this deteſtable Project in Execution, he divided *England* into twelve Cantons, over each of which he placed a Baſhaw, under the Title of Major-General, who was to have the Inſpection and Government of inferior Commiſſioners in every County, with Orders to ſeize the Perſons and diſtrain the Eſtates of ſuch as ſhould be refractory, and to put in Execution ſuch further Directions as they ſhould receive from him.

Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

Whereupon he appoints a Number of Major-Generals to prevent Inſurrections againſt his Government.

The Names of theſe Major-Generals, with the reſpective Diſtricts under their Command, were,

For *London*, Major-General *Skippon*.

For *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex*, Col. *Barkſtead*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

For *Kent* and *Surrey*, Col. *Kelſey*.

For *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, Col. *Goff*.

For *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, General *Deſborough*.

For *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, Iſle of *Ely*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, Lord-Deputy *Fleetwood*.

For *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*, Commiſſary-General *Whalley*.

For *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*, Major *Butler*.

For *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Salop*, and *North-Wales*, Col. *Berry*.

For *Monmouthſhire* and *South-Wales*, Col. *Dawkins*.

For *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*, Col. *Worſley*. And

For *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Northumberland*, Lord Preſident *Lambert*.

Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

This new tyrannous Project of placing Majors-General in each County, was first set on Foot in the Month of *October* this Year; but they had not their Commissions to act by till the next Month; when Instructions were given to them to take Security of all who had been in Arms for the King, for their peaceable Demeanor and Obedience to the Protector, as well as to exact from them the Tenths aforementioned. In order to make this Proceeding go down more readily, *Cromwell* published a Declaration of the Justice and Necessity thereof, by way of Vindication of himself and his Council for acting these Violences against the Royal Party; which since it contains the whole History of the late Plot, and is no where else so much as mentioned, except a short Abstract of some of the Heads of it in Lord *Clarendon* °, we shall give at large, as printed by Authority this Year, without any Apology for the Length of it.

This Piece is intitled,

A DECLARATION *of his* HIGHNESS, *by the Advice of his Council, shewing the Reasons of their Proceedings for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth, upon Occasion of the late Insurrection and Rebellion.* ℘

A Declaration of his Reasons for so doing.

'AFter it had pleased God to give so clear a Decision of those Contests, which the well-affected People of this Nation, for many Years together, had with the late King and his Party, and those who, after him, espoused that Interest, and engaged upon the same Bottom; that the Adversaries were wholly vanquish'd, and both their Persons and Estates, through the gracious Dispensations of God, subjected to the Power of those whom they had designed to enslave and ruin, it was hoped that that visible Hand of God, which appeared against them in the War upon all Occasions, would have had suitable Impressions;

° *History*, Vol. VI. p. 570.

℘ Printed by *Henry Hills* and *John Field*, Printers to his Highness the Lord Protector.

ons; and been ſufficient to convince them of the Error of their Way, and engaged them to deſert it, with thoſe Principles of Licentiouſneſs and Profaneneſs, which the Heads and Leaders of that Party had long endeavoured to debauch the Nation with; and ſo obliged them not only to live peaceably under that Power which they were ſo eminently, by the Providence of God, brought under, by laying aſide the Remembrance of former Differences, to endeavour, in their ſeveral Capacities, the carrying on and maintaining the Peace and Good of the whole; eſpecially if they ſhould ſee an End of their Troubles, and themſelves put into ſuch a Condition that they might not be liable to future Revenge for what was paſt; but might be free, both in their Eſtates and Perſons, equally with other Men: And therefore as it was moſt evident, as well by their being admitted at firſt to compound for their Eſtates, as alſo in the Terms of their Compoſition, (which were ſo eaſy and moderate to the Generality, as that it led them to a better Condition of Support than generally befell the Parliament's Party, conſidering their many and large Payments to maintain a long and expenceful War) that the original Intention of thoſe who had then the Conduct of Affairs, was not to extirpate theſe Men, with Deſigns of poſſeſſing their Eſtates and Fortunes; but, at firſt, only to defend their Liberties; and, after, to deprive them of thoſe Arms wherewith they deſigned to enſlave themſelves and the whole Nation; leaving them in that Condition after they were overcome, as they might live in their former Qualities, enjoying their Eſtates and equal Protection with thoſe whom they had endeavour'd to deſtroy. A Proceeding very extraordinary, if compared with that which other Nations, in all Ages, have endured after a like Diſappointment by Civil War; who have held it for a Principle, That Settlement, after ſuch Commotions, is obtain'd and conſerv'd by a total Diſabling the very Inclinations of thoſe in Times of Peace,

Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

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‘ whoſe Actions have been dangerous in
‘ in this Nation, in former Ages, Loſs o
‘ Confiſcation, having been very uſually
‘ ſequences in the like Caſes: We ſ
‘ clear Intentions of the Parliament's P
‘ diſcovered and manifeſt in their firſt P
‘ with their Enemies, to wit, That the
‘ not their Ruin, but Reformation; ſo,
‘ Battle of *Worceſter*, upon that memo
‘ of the third of *September*, when the Ho
‘ Enemy ſeemed to be wholly broke
‘ neither Forces in the Field, nor Garri
‘ *England*; and *Scotland* which, untill th
‘ be ſome Ground of Confidence to the
‘ Danger to us, ſo far ſubdued, that no
‘ ble Enemy was left there; which alſ
‘ Condition of *Ireland:* When all Thing
‘ duced into that State and Condition, th
‘ Men could, in Reaſon, have but ſm
‘ Hopes of any Change of Affairs, or ne
‘ tunities to aſſert their old Cauſe; ſo hac
‘ the continued Aſſiſtance and Preſence o
‘ Ground to fear any new Attempts fr
‘ that might oblige us to any baſe and
‘ Compliance with them; all Endeavours
‘ on this Side to lay Foundations of
‘ the Spirits, and uniting a broken an
‘ People through a Ten-years War. T
‘ not only a punctual Performance of A
‘ War, the like whereof no Hiſtory car
‘ (a Court being purpoſely erected to do
‘ ſtice in that Particular, and the Pow
‘ entruſted in ſuch Hands, who, as wa
‘ in their Choice, did execute it effectuall
‘ Behalf) but an Act of Grace and Obl
‘ granted to them: which Favour, as t

'of putting what was paſt into Oblivion; by Means 'whereof the Hearts of the Nation, unhappily di- 'vided, might chearfully and affectionately meet 'in mutual Intereſt; on which might follow Peace, 'Settlement, and Reformation; and, conſequent- 'ly, the Taxes and Burdens which have been long 'continued, might be ſafely taken from off the 'People. Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

'Upon theſe Grounds alſo was it, that ſo great 'Reſpect was had to this Sort of Men in the Set- 'tlement of the preſent Government, whereby 'they were admitted, after three Parliaments, to 'be elected to ſit in the Supreme Councils of the 'Nation.

'It is true, indeed, ſome Oppoſition was made 'to that Lenity which was uſed towards this Par- 'ty, and more eſpecially to the Act of Oblivion; 'many being of this Perſuaſion, That it would not 'work thoſe good Effects as were deſigned and 'wiſhed; but, on the contrary, that all this In- 'dulgence would be abuſed, and Opportunities 'given thereby of raiſing new Troubles, to the 'endangering of the Cauſe we had ſo long con- 'tended for; wherein yet the Parliament itſelf were 'of a different Judgment from them, conceiving 'it impoſſible that there ſhould be any Sort of Men 'ſo devoid of Ingenuity and Candour, or ſo re- 'ſolved in their Way, that neither the Diſpenſa- 'tions of God, nor Kindneſs of Men, could work 'upon them; however, it was thought, that in 'caſe they were miſtaken, and that it ſhould ſo 'fall out in Fact, and upon Experience, that thoſe 'who were, by the mighty and out-ſtretched Hand 'of the Lord, brought into a Condition to aſk Fa- 'vour, to ſolicit for the blotting out the Remem- 'brance of paſt Actions, and to be reſtored to the 'common Privileges of the Nation, which they 'had juſtly forfeited, ſhould yet deſpiſe and reject 'it when it was offered, and retain their Enmity 'after that they had been forced from their Arms, 'it would then have this Effect at leaſt, the leaving 'of ſuch without Excuſe, in whatſoever Ways of

Inter-regnum. 1648. October.

'Severity the State ſhould be neceſſitate
'ceed with them in for providing for, a
'ring the Peace of, the Nation, when
'Tenderneſs were by them render'd ineff
'thoſe Ends: And we do acknowledge, t
'Carriage towards them had been ſuch
'fore expreſs'd, we could not, with Con
'Satisfaction to ourſelves, have uſed th
'we now ſee we are obliged to take ag
'Perſons and Eſtates of that Party, for
'the Lives, Liberties, Peace, and Comf
'the well-affected People of theſe three N
'But it having pleaſed God, in his Pr
'ſo to order Things, that there was not c
'bearance and Moderation uſed towar
'and Hopes given that they might enjoy th
'dom, and have equal Protection in thei
'and Eſtates with the reſt of the Nation,
'might claim it as their Right, and as
'them by the Laws and Conſtitutions of t
'as well as any Perſon whatſoever who
'of this Side; there can be no other Cor
'made of the Actings of that Party, to th
'bance of the public Peace, and to the
'ſion of the Government, but that they
'placable in their Malice and Revenge, a
'to be drawn from their adhering to th
'Intereſt, which hath been the Occaſio
'ſhedding of ſo much innocent Blood, ar
'of the Ruin and Deſtruction of theſe Lan
'therefore we do not now only find ourſ
'fied, but obliged in Duty, both towa
'and this Nation, to proceed upon other
'than formerly, with thoſe who ſhall def
'Character; and the Articles of War,
'Oblivion, and other Favours tendered, y
'ed, to theſe Men, are ſo far from lyin

Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

'It will not be denied, That as well the Articles 'of War, as the Favour and Grace granted by the 'Act of Oblivion, contained in them a Recipro- 'cation, as there did a real Benefit and Advantage 'accrue to the Grantees, ſo certainly was there a 'Good intended and deſigned by them to the State: 'If the State do not attain their End, neither ought 'the other to accompliſh theirs. In ſuch Acts as 'theſe are, either both are bound, or both are at 'Liberty, and in the ſame Condition as if no 'ſuch Things had been done or acted: Certainly 'none have ſigned to Articles of War that are not 'conditional; or when thoſe who received thoſe 'Articles reſolved to break the Conditions, they 'had not then the Conſent of thoſe who gave them. 'Who did ever allow ſuch Articles to Enemies, 'as might aſſiſt them to execute their Malice 'and Revenge? If no Breach of Faith can make 'a Forfeiture of Articles, the Condition of thoſe 'who receive them, is better than of him that gives 'them, becauſe he ſubmits himſelf to Surprize, 'after he hath endured the Hazard and Expence of 'open War.

'And as for the Act of Oblivion; that muſt needs 'be meant as an Obligation upon the Enemy, and 'as a proper Means to take away the Enmity con- 'tracted by the War; intending, by Mercy, to 'reform thoſe who had oppoſed themſelves to the 'public Welfare; and this need not be expreſſed, 'it doth imply ſuch a Condition in the Nature of 'it. All Pardons are granted with Clauſes of good 'Behaviour, either explicit or implied; becauſe 'elſe whoever grants them, lets looſe a Delin- 'quent to a future Offence; and he that anſwers 'not the End and Conſideration of the Pardon, 'cannot, in Reaſon, be ſaid ever to accept it. The 'Parliament, by that Act, intended not only an 'Oblivion of the Offences of the aforeſaid Party, 'whereby they had render'd themſelves obnoxious, 'but that this Kindneſs ſhould be anſwered with 'Obedience on their Part, and produce a real 'Change in their Principles and Intereſt, as to the

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Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

'common Cauſe this great Conteſt had been about; 'for, otherwiſe, this Act cannot be conſidered as 'obligatory to thoſe who gave it: And, in this 'Caſe, Forbearance from outward Action will not 'avail, nor intitle to the Benefit of the Pardon, if 'yet there be Malice and Revenge in the Heart, 'and ſuch a leaning and adhering to the old Intereſt, 'that nothing is wanting for the Diſcovery there-'of, but a fitting Opportunity; for as ſuch Men 'cannot, in Juſtice and Ingenuity, claim the Be-'nefit of an Act of Favour from that Supreme Ma-'giſtrate, to whom they know themſelves to be 'Enemies; ſo neither is that Magiſtrate bound, 'in Juſtice before God or Men, to give it to them, 'if he hath Reaſon to believe, from the Courſe of 'their Converſations, that they are ſuch, and that 'their Intentions towards the Government, under 'which they live, are the ſame as when they were 'in open Arms againſt it; and is at Liberty to car-'ry himſelf towards them, as if no ſuch Act had 'been. Nay, he may proceed againſt them with 'greater Severity, in as much as he hath uſed the 'laſt Means to reclaim them without Fruit; and 'knows, by Experience, that nothing but the 'Sword will reſtrain them from Blood and Vio-'lence.

'Then, if this be the Caſe between us and the 'late King's Party, to wit, That they have noto-'riouſly manifeſted it to the Conſciences of all 'Men, that they do not only retain their old Prin-'ciples, and ſtill adhere to their former Intereſt in 'direct Oppoſition to the Government eſtabliſhed, 'but have been all along hatching new Diſturban-'ces; and endeavouring, as well by ſecret and 'bloody Aſſaſſinations, as by open Force, to in-'troduce the one, and overthrow and ſubvert 'the other: It will not be thought ſtrange, upon 'any Account whatſoever, that we did lately 'ſecure ſo many of the Men of that Intereſt, al-'though they were not viſible in Arms upon the 'late Inſurrection; nor that we have laid a Bur-'den upon ſome of their Eſtates, beyond what is

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Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

'impoſed upon the reſt of the Nation, towards the 'defraying of that Charge which they are the Oc-'caſion of; with ſome other Things which we 'have found neceſſary, in this Time of Danger, 'to direct concerning them, for the Peace and 'Safety of the whole.

'Now, to evince this, tho' the Walks of Con-'ſpirators, who are a ſly and ſecret Generation of 'Men, are ever in the Dark, and the Meaſure of 'all their Feet cannot be exactly taken and com-'pared, yet many of their Steps having been diſ-'covered through the Goodneſs of the All-ſeeing 'God, we ſhall ſet down ſuch Part thereof as may 'be of uſe to make public.

'We ſhall not particularly mention ſome under-'hand and very ſecret Contrivances which they had, 'and made ſome Trial of, whereby they would 'have inſenſibly wound themſelves into that Power, 'which they were not able to do by open Force; 'but that Way not taking, they then betook them-'ſelves to Counſels of raiſing a new War, and de-'ſigning a general Inſurrection throughout the Na-'tion.

'And, to ripen thoſe Reſolutions, ſome Per-'ſons were ſent from hence to *Charles Stuart*, with 'Letters of Credit, and a conſiderable Sum of Mo-'ney, the better to gain Belief, to give him Aſſu-'rance that the Reaſons why the Nobility and 'Gentry, and Bulk of the Kingdom of *England*, 'which, they ſaid, were Epiſcopal, and of his 'former Party, did not riſe with him upon his late 'March from *Scotland*, was, becauſe he was be-'lieved to have gone upon Grounds diſagreeable 'both to their Affections and Intereſts, and alſo 'to the Good of the Nation, and inconſiſtent with 'the antient Conſtitutions both of Church and 'State; but that if he would return to his former 'Principles, to wit, To caſt himſelf totally upon 'his old Party, they would venture both their 'Lives and Fortunes for his Recovery.

'This being receiv'd with great Acceptance, and 'the

Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

the Deſign reſolved upon, the M
thereof was to be as followeth:

'A Council was choſen of a ſelect
called by the Name of a *Sealed Knot*,
for the moſt Part, to reſide in and abo
and to keep and maintain Correſpond
thoſe of their Party beyond Sea, and
ſeveral Parts of the Nation; and co
the mutual Advices, Counſels, Order
ſolutions of each other, which were n
ſuch an Undertaking. And there
Things which were chiefly deſigned
this Buſineſs:

'1. To prepare and engage every
Man of their own Party, who had
in the former Wars, or had been a Fr
to, or was likely, by reaſon of his
Breeding, or Diſcontents, to engag
who, being engaged, were to brin
Tenants, and thoſe who depended u
and alſo to lay Deſigns for the poſſeſſi
ritons and Strong-holds.

'2. To raiſe a conſiderable Bank o
be employed for buying of Arms, defr
Expences incident to the Managemer
Buſineſs, and for the Maintenance of
Occaſion ſhould be; and for this 100,
propounded for *England* alone, beſide
to be had in *Wales*; for the raiſing wh
Seals were to be ſent to ſeveral Perſons

'3. During the carrying on of this A
Stuart was to be maintained, and
conſtant Contribution of Money was t
voured from ſuch of his Friends as wer
this latter was ſo well proſecuted by th
which were employed therein, that h

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'But as previous hereunto, and to make their 'Work the more eaſy and uninterrupted, and the 'Deſign, they had thus engaged in, the more ſure 'in the Execution, (which they could not in Reaſon 'but apprehend to have many Difficulties in it, 'whilſt the Nation was in perfect Peace, and ſo 'much inclined to Settlement and Reſt, as being 'weary of the former Commotions, that whoſo-'ever ſhould begin new Troubles upon any Pre-'tences whatſoever, would be looked upon as a 'common Enemy; and might poſſibly find the Ge-'nerality of the Nation ſo far from joining with 'them, that they might declare the contrary Way; 'as alſo, whilſt the Army was in an united Poſture, 'and under its antient Conduct, it would be difficult 'for them to riſe, without being ſuppreſſed before 'they ſhould be able to imbody in any ſuch conſi-'derable Number as might give Countenance and 'Protection to ſuch as ſhould join themſelves with 'them) they concluded ſome Things to be ef-'fected, as preceding to, or at leaſt contemporary 'with, the general Inſurrection.

'One was the Aſſaſſination of particular Per-'ſons, thereby to beget great Confuſions and Con-'teſt, and give Opportunity for all the King's Party 'to riſe. There was one *Fitz-James* went from 'hence to the late King's eldeſt Son upon this Ac-'count, then at *Paris*, and had a Sum of Money 'given him to promote that Attempt; but he, and '*John Gerard* afterwards joined in that Deſign, the 'Particulars whereof have been heretofore publiſh-'ed[q]; whereto we ſhall only add what is ſince more 'fully come to our Knowledge, to make it mani-'feſt that it was not the heady and raſh Reſolution 'of *Gerard* himſelf, but that it was a Part of the 'Deſign laid by the pretended King, and of thoſe 'who have the Conduct of his Affairs; that he 'himſelf ſpake to both *Fitz-James* and *Gerard* 'concerning it, and did not only approve thereof, 'but declared that he looked upon it as a moſt ne-'ceſſary, if not the only, Means to ſet all his o-'ther

[q] See p. 294, in this Volume.

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'ther Deſigns on Motion. It is true, he refuſed 'to ſpeak with Major *Henſhaw*, who went to *Paris* about the ſame Time, or a little before, con-'cerning the Deſign, and conferred with Prince '*Rupert* concerning it, by Means of one *Chockly*, 'a *Frenchman*; the Prince communicated it to '*Charles Stuart*, who approved of the Undertaking, and reſolved to ſpeak with him therein; but 'Advertiſement coming from *England* in the mean 'Time, that *Henſhaw* was ſent from hence and 'employed at *Paris* to abuſe them there, he refuſed afterwards to ſee him; but relied on *Gerard* 'and *Fitz-James*, to whom he gave preciſe Directions, that they ſhould not make their Attempt till all his Friends were ready in *England*. 'There was alſo one *Boſwel*, and alſo one *Pierce*, 'and ſeveral other Perſons employed at other 'Times for thoſe Aſſaſſinations, who had laid the 'Place and Manner of Execution, and the Means 'whereby to attempt it; all the Particulars where-'of would be too large to ſet down, as it would 'the ſeveral gracious Providences of God in the 'diſappointing of them.

'Another Part of their Deſign was to work upon the ſeveral diſcontented Humours which they 'obſerved to be ſtirring in the Nation; employing 'fitting Inſtruments, who might, from a true Obſervation of their Spirits and Principles, fall in 'with all Manner of diſcontented Parties; and, by 'proper Mediums, heighten and blow up their 'Diſcontents, and provoke them to a Rupture; 'laying this for their Maxim, *Divide et impera*; 'the more Parties they could make, the greater 'Confuſions they could bring forth, the eaſier 'would their Work be: And, therefore, ſome they 'ſet up, who might abuſe one Sort of Men, and 'draw them into Diſcontents upon Pretences of 'Liberty and the Rights of the freeborn People of '*England*, which they ſuppoſed were infringed by 'keeping up an Army, and by inforcing Taxes 'from them, and by not calling a free and equal 'Repreſentative, choſen by all the People; and,

'upon

upon this Subject, there was ſcarce a Day but ſome Pamphlet or other came forth in Print, called *Declarations, penn'd, printed, and publiſh'd by the King's Party*; ſome whereof are now in Priſon, who appeared not in it themſelves, but employed other Inſtruments. And they found *John Wildman*, and ſome others of the like Principles, moſt fitting Inſtruments for managing that Part, of crying for Liberty, as thoſe who might do it, as they imagined, without the leaſt Suſpicion of being thought to correſpond therein with the old Enemy, or of having Intentions to promote his Cauſe and Intereſt. And therefore theſe were to carry on a Deſign, which ſhould, in outward Appearance, be different from the other, altho' in Truth it came from the ſame Root, and was directed to the ſame End; and to this Purpoſe they had continual Meetings with ſuch as they judged to be like themſelves, and of the ſame Mind with them; and though they themſelves had turned their Backs upon that Profeſſion of *Chriſt* and the Goſpel, which they had once made, and were become looſe in their Converſation, and atheiſtical in their Principles; yet they found Means, by reaſon of their having been engaged on this Part, to inſinuate into, communicate with, and deeply influence, ſome particular Perſons, otherwiſe, as we hope, well minded, in Deſigns againſt the Government, partly upon Pretences of Liberty, and partly upon Suppoſition of having a more pure Adminiſtration of Things; upon which Subject likewiſe many Papers were printed and diſperſed at the ſame Time, and many others were in Preparation.

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And *Wildman* had brought his Part to ſuch Maturity, that he wanted very little but the open declaring himſelf in Arms; having, in Effect, finiſhed the Declaration which was to be publiſhed upon that Occaſion, as appears by the Declaration itſelf [n]; but it pleaſed God to prevent it by his

[n] It bore this Title, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; and is printed at large in *Whitlocke*'s *Memorials*, p. 600.

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'his ſudden and unexpected Apprehenſion, with his 'Declaration before him, juſt as he was dictating 'to his Servant the Concluſion thereof; and the 'Time that he ſhould have declared himſelf, did 'fully anſwer the Riſing deſigned by the Royal 'Party, which fell out a few Days after.

'Another Thing which the Enemy had laid as 'neceſſary, at leaſt to keep Company with their 'intended Inſurrection, was, that Part of the Ar- 'my in *Scotland* ſhould have mutinied, ſurprized 'their Generals, thrown off their Officers, and 'marched up to *London* under the Command of 'Major-General *Overton*[r], who was deſigned for 'that Purpoſe, leaving the reſt of the Army there, 'already under great Diſcouragement, by reaſon 'of their late hard Service and for Want of Pay, 'to be devoured by the *Scots*; and alſo Forts and 'Garriſons, lately erected at the vaſt Charge of 'this Commonwealth, to be poſſeſſed by them; 'there being no Poſſibility left of ſending them 'timely and ſeaſonable Supplies, in ſuch Times of 'Trouble as muſt neceſſarily enſue ſuch Actings; 'and thoſe who were made uſe of, to bring to paſs, 'were the Levellers, and alſo ſome others, who did 'not, as we hope, intend to ſerve the Intereſt of '*Charles*

[r] In *Thurloe*'s *State Papers*, (Vol. III. *ſparſim*) Mention is made of the ſeveral Perſons, both Cavaliers and Levellers, apprehended on account of this Plot: There are alſo in that Collection Copies of Letters intercepted by General *Moncke* in *Scotland*; amongſt thoſe found in *Overton*'s Pocket-Book, were the following Verſes in his own Hand writing:

A Protector, what's that? 'Tis a ſtately Thing,
That confeſſeth itſelf but the Ape of a King:
A tragical Cæſar *acted by a Clown;*
Or a Braſs Farthing ſtamp'd with a Kind of a Crown:
A Bubble, that ſhines; a loud Cry without Wool;
Not Perillus *nor* Phalaris, *but the Bull.*
The Eccho of Monarchy till it come;
The Butt-end of a Barrel in the Shape of a Drum:
A counterfeit Piece that woodenly ſhews
A Golden Effigies with a Copper Noſe.
The fantaſtic Shadow of a Sovereign Head,
The Arms Royal revers'd, and diſloyal inſtead.
In fine, he is one we may Protector call,
From whom the King of Kings protect us all.

In Lord *Clarendon* (Vol. VI. p. 551, *et ſeq.*) is a particular Account of the Grounds, Motives, and Conſequences of this Inſurrection of the King's Party.

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'*Charles Stuart*. But it is clear, that they were in-
'fluenced and driven on by them, being made to
'believe by the Emiſſaries of the pretended King,
'Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, that that Part of the
'Army deſigned for the Revolt, would, under the
'Conduct aforeſaid, do much for the carrying on
'their Buſineſs; not foreſeeing that the Army, be-
'ing thus divided and engaged againſt itſelf, it may
'be even to Blood, would become a Prey to the
'Enemy, and yield up this glorious Cauſe and the
'good People of this Land into their Hands.

'Theſe were ſome of thoſe Methods which our
'Enemies made uſe of to prepare their Way to
'their grand Deſign; others they had of leſſer
'Moment, which we ſhall not ſpend our Time in
'rehearſing; nor ſhall we, in expreſs Terms, lay
'to their Charge the ſwarming of thoſe Jeſuits
'which are now croaking amongſt us, turning
'themſelves into all Forms and Shapes to deceive
'and ſeduce Men from the Truth, according as
'they find the Bents, Inclinations, and Principles
'of Men to be.

'It is not only commonly obſerved, but there
'remains with us ſomewhat in Proof, that Jeſuits
'have been found amongſt ſome diſcontented Par-
'ties of this Nation, who are obſerved to quarrel
'and fall out with every Form of Adminiſtration,
'either in Church or State; whether theſe Emiſ-
'ſaries of the Church of *Rome* are come hither
'by Counſel from *Charles Stuart*, we will not now
'examine; this is certain, as the continual
'Troubles and Unſettlement, occaſioned by his
'Party here, opens the Door for the Entrance in
'of thoſe unclean Spirits; ſo his Agents make
'Uſe of them to advance one Part of his Work,
'to wit, the fomenting and maintaining of Parties
'and Factions amongſt us.

'And that they might the better know what
'Directions to give, and what Means they were to
'uſe from Time to Time for influencing the afore-
'ſaid Parties, and arriving at their Ends, theſe fol-
'lowing Inſtructions were given, amongſt other
'Things,

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'Things, to some of their Agents: They
'to inform themselves,

1. 'What the present Strength of the Arm
'*England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* is; by w
'commanded; who have the chief Interest in th
'and how they and their Officers are affected

2. 'What are the principal Garrisons, espe
'ly Ports; how manned, and of what Streng
'and which are the easiest to be gain'd, eithe
'Force or Treachery?

3. 'What the present Strength is at Sea;
'how intended to be settled for the future?

4. 'What the constant Revenues, and cons
'Expences of the Commonwealth are; how m
'the one exceeds the other; and, if the Expe
'be greater, by what Means the Overplus is
'plied?

5. 'What is the Condition of Trade, whe
'much decay'd; and what Consequences that
'draw?

6. 'Whether the Protector be absolute in
'Power, or forced to comply with others,
'are his chiefest Friends or Enemies, and
'have at present the greatest Power in *Engla*
how the People and Army stand affected to
'new Government and Person of the Protecto

7. 'What Parties and Factions are now
'Foot; what their Strength, Principles, and In
'nations as to the present Government, or a C
'junction with the King; and who are their c
'Leaders?

8. 'What be the present Designs of the P
'tector and the Governing Party, as to Wa
'Peace with foreign Nations?

9. 'What is done in *England* or *Scotland*
'wards the Reduction of the King's Party in
'Highlands?

'These Instructions do further shew what t
'Party was doing here amongst us.

'Whilst these Engines were at Work, the E
'my doth all they can to ripen their Design o
'general Rising; and that all might be ready

'on

'once, Agents to that Purpoſe are employed in the ſeveral Parts of the Nation, and every one's particular Station appointed to them; ſome for the Weſt, others for the North, others for the Eaſt, others for *Surrey*, *Kent*, *&c.* and others for *Wales*; their Work was to ſpeak with ſuch Perſons as were likely to join with them, and, if they accepted, to acquaint them with what Reſolutions were taken for the carrying on the Deſign, and the Time for the Execution thereof, with what elſe related thereto. Inter-regnum. 1655. October.

'One chief Part thereof was upon the City of *London*; where great Endeavours were uſed to engage the Youth, Apprentices, and common Sort of Men, who might be able to raiſe Combuſtions, by firing the City or otherwiſe, thereby to prevent their appearing in Arms againſt them.

'Privy Seals were ſent unto ſeveral Perſons for raiſing of Money for managing this Work, and Treaſurers appointed for receiving the ſame, and ſeveral very conſiderable Sums paid in, a Part whereof was diſcovered and ſeized upon.

'Great Quantities of Arms, and other Proviſions of War, eſpecially for Horſemen, were bought; many whereof were ſent into the reſpective Counties, and lodged in the Hands of Perſons engaged in this Deſign; ſome we ſeized upon in the Country, and ſome in their Magazine in *London*. Commiſſions were alſo ſent in great Numbers from *Charles Stuart*, and delivered to ſeveral of his Party, to raiſe Horſe and Foot. Beſides, they had been ſolliciting foreign Princes to give them Aſſiſtance of Men and Money to invade this Country; whom although they found not very forward in undertaking any ſuch Enterprize, untill ſome Sea Town of Strength could be put into their Hands, yet they did procure ſome Sums of Money from them; and were not without good Aſſurances of further Aid, both of Men and Money, when they could ſecure them a Place of Landing and Retreat.

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'Things being thus prepared, and a full Account thereof given to their pretended King, although he was very desirous to have come attended with some foreign Aids, yet, seeing his Party to be in so good a Readiness, he encouraged them to proceed to the Execution, and promised them to be in some convenient Place not far distant, at such Time as they should let him know the particular Day agreed upon by them for making their Attempt, to come over hither as he should find his Opportunity.

'The Letter he writ to his Party on this Occasion is as followeth:

July 16, 1654.

YOU will easily believe that I am very well pleased to hear how careful and solicitous you are for my Concernments, and of the Course you resolve to take. The Truth is, I have been so tender of my Friends, that I have deferred to call upon them to appear, till I could find myself able to give them good Encouragement from abroad; but since I find that comes on so slowly, I will no longer restrain those Affections which I most desire to be beholden to; and I have Reason to believe, that if they, who wish one and the same Thing, knew each other's Mind, the Work would be done without any Difficulty; and if there were any handsome Appearance in any one Place, the rest would not sit still; and I am persuaded I should then find Supplies from those who are yet afraid to offer them: However, I am sure, I would myself be with those who first wish'd for me; and, to that Purpose, I will keep myself within a reasonable Distance.

Consult with those you dare trust, and, if you are ready, agree upon a Time, and you cannot promise yourselves any Thing you will be disappointed in, and which is in the Power of

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

'After

'After the Receipt of this Letter, their Affairs grew apace unto Ripeneſs; and they found their Party ſo unanimouſly and univerſally reſolved, and every Thing ſo agreeable to their Wiſhes, that (as ſeveral of the Perſons acknowledged afterwards upon their Examinations) they thought it impoſſible for us, though they ſhould fully acquaint us with the whole Contrivements, to prevent their Deſigns. Inter-regnum, 1655. October.

'And now, whereas ſome of them were of Opinion, that they ſhould take in ſome Perſons who had been for the Parliament, and were diſcontented, to make their Buſineſs the ſurer, it was denied by others of them upon this Reaſon, That ſeeing they had no Need of them, as their Affairs now ſtood, it would be prejudicial to his Majeſty's Service and their common Intereſt, to take in Perſons whom they ſhould be afterwards troubled to get rid of; by which may be ſeen the Confidence they had of the Succeſs of their Undertaking.

'As for the Time of executing what had been, in their Apprehenſion, thus ſurely laid, they varied their Counſels in that Particular, according as they found the Opportunities for the ſame to be more or leſs advantageous. They once reſolved to take the Occaſion of Horſe-Races, which they had appointed in ſeveral Places for that Purpoſe; whither they and their Servants ſhould have come well hors'd and arm'd, and ſo have declared themſelves; but they were prevented therein by the Prohibition of Horſe-Races.

'Another Time which was by them agreed upon (although they were ſomewhat impatient of ſo long Stay) was at the Riſing of the laſt Parliament; for obſerving that a great Part of the Army was inſiſted upon, in Parliament, to be diſbanded; a Thing moſt deſired by, as of moſt Uſe to, the Enemy, who concluded, That if the Army was down, nothing elſe could ſtand in their Way: And that we were not likely, in Reaſon, to conſent thereto, in reſpect of the Knowledge

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'we had of their whole Deſign, ſeveral Perſons being then apprehended as guilty of that 'Contrivance, and divers Arms ſeized on in the 'Hands of their Factors; they did hope by improving that and ſeveral other Opportunities of 'Diſcontent, which might fall out during that 'Time, that the Parliament might riſe with Diſſatisfaction, by the Means whereof their Deſign 'would be much advanced, and therefore got all 'Things in Readineſs againſt ſuch a Juncture of 'Affairs: But it having pleaſed God to make ſome 'farther notable Diſcovery to Us of this Conſpiracy, and of the particular Perſons engaged therein; 'the ſeizing ſome of them, both here and in the 'ſeveral Counties, together with the bringing over '3000 Foot and 600 Horſe out of *Ireland*, did 'prevent them at that Time; and in a great Meaſure diſhearten'd their Party to ſee many of them 'ſecured, who were relied upon for the Management of this Affair.

'But *Charles Stuart* having, according to his 'Promiſe, removed himſelf from *Cologn* into *Zealand*, on purpoſe to attend this Riſing, and to 'come hither in Perſon, ſo ſoon as he ſhould underſtand that it took Effect according to his Deſires; and the Lord *Wilmot*, Major General *Wagſtaff*, *O'Neal*, and ſeveral others of that Party, 'being come actually over hither to conduct and 'lead the Deſign, and appointed to their ſeveral 'Poſts in the Nation, they agreed to make their 'Attempt upon the 12th of *March*, 1654; which 'they did accordingly.

'And obſerving that the Body of the Army, eſpecially the Foot, lay about *London*, they deſigned 'to riſe firſt in the Weſt, *Wales*, the North, and 'other remote Parts of the Nation, hoping thereby to draw the Army, or a great Part of it, from 'hence; whereupon *Kent*, *Surrey*, and their Party 'in *London*, were to riſe, and ſo make themſelves 'not only Maſters of the City, but form them into 'conſiderable Bodies. By the Perſons they had 'engaged, they reckoned upon 8000 in the North,

'and

'and not fewer out of the Weſt; and the Number 'which ſhould riſe in theſe Parts, when the Army 'ſhould have left it, to exceed both. The Gar- 'riſons and ſtrong Places they intended firſt to ſur- 'prize and ſeize upon were *Portſmouth*, *Plymouth*, '*York*, *Hull*, *Newcaſtle*, *Tinmouth*, *Cheſter*, *Shrewſ-* 'bury, *Yarmouth*, *Lynn*, and *Boſton*; as alſo to poſ- 'ſeſs themſelves of the Iſle of *Ely*. The Forces 'in the Weſt were to have been commanded by 'the Duke of *York*; and thoſe in the North, by 'the Lord *Wilmot*, whom they call the Earl of '*Rocheſter*.' s

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'What Iſſue it pleaſed the Lord to bring this 'great and general Deſign to, no Man is ignorant.

'The Inſurrection in the Weſt was bold and 'dangerous in itſelf; and had, in all Likelihood, 'increaſed to great Numbers of Horſe and Foot by 'the Conjunction of others of their own Party, be- 'ſides ſuch foreign Forces as, in caſe of their Suc- 'ceſs, and ſeizing upon ſome Place of Strength, 'were to have landed in thoſe Parts, had they not 'been prevented by the Motion of ſome Troops, 'and Diligence of the Officers in apprehending 'divers of that Party a few Days before; and alſo 'been cloſely purſued by ſome of our Forces; and, 'in the Concluſion, ſuppreſſed by a Handful of 'Men, through the great Goodneſs of God.

'That of *Yorkſhire*, which the Enemy moſt re- 'lied upon, fell far ſhort of their Expectation, in 'reſpect that our Forces, by their marching up and 'down in the Country, and ſome of them provi- 'dentially, at that Time, removing their Quar- 'ters near to the Place of Rendezvous, gave them 'no Opportunity to aſſemble; and therefore thoſe 'of them, which came to the Rendezvous at *Heſſa-* '*Moor*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Wilmot*, 'with an Intention to ſurprize *York*, and ſo form'd 'themſelves into an Army, ſeparated and run away 'in great Confuſion and Diſorder; as did alſo thoſe

s He was ſo created by King *Charles* II. at *Paris*, in 1654, upon his being ſent, on his Majeſty's Behalf, to the Diet at *Ratisbon*.

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'who were rendezvouſed near *Morpeth* to ſurprize '*Newcaſtle*; being, by the ſame Providence, diſ-'appointed, by the coming of 300 Foot from '*Berwick*, ordered thither for the Security of that 'Place.

'Thoſe in *North-Wales* and *Shropſhire*, Part of 'which were deſigned to ſurprize and poſſeſs '*Shrewſbury* Town and Caſtle; ſome of the chief 'Perſons being diſcovered and apprehended, the 'reſt fled.

'At *Rufford-Abbey*, in *Nottinghamſhire*, was 'another Place appointed for a Rendezvous; where 'about 500 Horſe met, and had with them in the 'Field a Cart-Load of Horſe-Arms, to arm ſuch 'as ſhould come to them; but, upon a ſudden, a 'great Fear fell upon them, inſomuch that they 'left their Arms in the open Field, and every Man 'ſhifted for himſelf. There were other ſmaller 'Parties, as in the City of *Cheſter*, who deſign'd 'the Surprize of the Caſtle there, and alſo in *Staf-'fordſhire*, with divers other Places in the Nation; 'but they failing in their Expectations, were diſ-'couraged for that Time.

'And thus, by the Goodneſs of God, firſt diſ-'covering and bringing to Light theſe hidden 'Works of Darkneſs, and afterwards, in putting 'Fear into the Hearts of theſe Men, that their 'Hands could not execute what they had contriv'd, 'the greateſt and moſt dangerous Deſign, not only 'for the involving us in Blood and Confuſion here 'at home, but expoſing of us unto the Will of Fo-'reigners, hath been defeated and brought to no-'thing; and this cruel and bloody Enemy put un-'der as great and ſignal Diſappointments as any 'Age can produce an Example of; it being a Thing 'they had ſet their Hearts upon, and was the Work 'of almoſt four Years Contrivement.

'And now all Men would have expected that, 'either through the Senſe of God's Hand a-new 'lifted up againſt them, or the other Diſcourage-'ments they had met with in this their grand Un-'dertaking, they would have been weary of any

'further

'further Attempts of this Kind, and have forſaken that Cauſe and Intereſt which hath brought ſo 'many of them to Ruin: But ſo little hath theſe 'Things wrought upon them, that ſome of them, 'when they ran away from their Rendezvous, did 'it with a Reſolution to take a better Opportu-'nity, when the Government, in Confidence of 'the preſent Succeſs, ſhould be ſecure and leſs 'aware of them; and they are at this very Day at 'work upon other Deſigns, both here and in *Scot-'land*, and are endeavouring to procure Supplies 'of Men and Money from foreign States, to begin 'new Troubles and Rebellions amongſt us; ſome 'Agents being ſent from hence for that Purpoſe 'this laſt Summer.

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'We ſhall not need to make any Application of 'what hath been ſaid. It is plain to every one that 'is not blinded with Prejudice, that theſe Men are 'reſtleſs in their Deſigns, and are the Cauſes of 'all our Trouble and Unſettlement, and will leave 'no Stone unturned to render vain and fruitleſs all 'that Blood which hath been ſpilt to reſtore our 'Liberties; and the Hopes we have conceived of 'ſeeing this poor Nation ſettled and reformed from 'that Spirit of Profaneneſs which theſe Men do 'keep up and countenance, in Contempt of all 'Law and Authority; and therefore we thus ar-'gued, that unleſs we would give up the Cauſe ſo 'long contended for, and the Lives, Liberties, and 'Comforts of all the Well-affected of theſe three 'Nations into their Hands, or leave them expoſed 'to their continual Attempts, the Peace and 'common Concernments of this Commonwealth 'muſt be otherwiſe ſecured and provided for, than 'at preſent they were; that this was not to be 'done without raiſing additional Forces; that the 'Charge of thoſe Forces ought not to be put upon 'the good People, who have borne the Heat and 'Burden of the Day; but upon thoſe who have 'been, and are, the Occaſion of all our Danger.

'Upon theſe Grounds we have been neceſſitated 'to erect a new and ſtanding Militia of Horſe in 'all

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'all the Counties of *England*, under ſuch Pay as 'might be without Burden to the Peaceable and 'Well-affected, and be a fitting Encouragement to 'the Officers and Soldiers, that they might not go 'to War at their own Charge; and therefore we 'have thought fit to lay the Burden of maintaining 'of theſe Forces, and ſome other public Charges 'which are occaſioned by them, upon thoſe who 'have been engaged in the late Wars againſt the 'State, having Reſpect, notwithſtanding, therein 'to ſuch of them as are not able to undergo that 'Charge.

'It may perhaps be eſteemed great Severity to 'tax the whole Party, when there hath been, in 'reſpect of the general Number, but few convicted 'by Trial, or detected by Teſtimonies, to have 'been in thoſe Deſigns.

'It is true, the Proofs and Teſtimonies do not 'extend to charge every individual Man, which 'will fall under this Burden, with any explicit 'acting, contriving, or deſigning for the Diſturb-'ance of the Peace; if that had been the Caſe, 'their whole Eſtates, by the ordinary Proceedings 'of the Law had been confiſcated: But we do ap-'peal to all indifferent Men, who will weigh and 'conſider the preceding Narrative, and the Con-'texture, Frame, and Circumſtances of this De-'ſign, whether the Party were not generally in-'volved in this Buſineſs; and, in Reaſon, to be 'charged with it.

'It is certain here was the Cauſe and Quarrel of 'the pretended King once more brought upon the 'Stage by his Followers; who, for that Purpoſe, 'was come into the *Low-Countries*, ready to em-'bark for *England*, upon the firſt Notice of Suc-'ceſs; which no Man will believe he would have 'put himſelf upon, in the Eye and Face of the 'World, if thoſe who ſhewed themſelves in Arms 'were to have no other Seconds than what appear-'ed; nor will it be imagined, that thoſe of his 'Party who came over hither upon that Errand, as 'the Lord *Wilmot* and *Wagſtaff*, and others, would

'have

'have run ſo great Hazard upon ſo weak Grounds; Inter-regnum. 1655. October.
'or that thoſe Gentlemen, who did actually riſe,
'could ſuppoſe that the Army then in being would
'be ſo eaſily over-run with much more conſider-
'able Forces than were viſible; neither can it be
'preſumed, that the Perſons, chiefly relied upon for
'the Conduct and Management of this Affair, and
'who doubtleſs want no Credit with that Party,
'would have entered into this Engagement alone.

'Great Sums of Money were collected and ſent
'over to the pretended King, and furniſhed alſo
'for this Deſign; which we cannot think came out
'of a few Hands.

'At this Time this Party were obſerved to be
'together, to keep their Meetings apart from
'others, to withdraw themſelves in their ordinary
'Converſation, and to carry it with a more than
'uſual Confidence againſt the Well-affected of the
'Nation, as Men under great Hopes of a ſudden
'Change; which many of them did not forbear to
'make their Boaſts of.

'The Time when this Attempt was made, is
'likewiſe obſervable: It was when nothing but a
'well-form'd Power could hope to put us into Diſ-
'order; *Scotland* and *Ireland* being perfectly re-
'duced; Differences with moſt Neighbour Na-
'tions compoſed; our Forces both by Sea and
'Land in Order and Conſiſtency; the firſt Bud-
'ding of theſe Imbroilments ſeaſonably detected,
'and many of the engaged Perſons apprehended;
'Notice given of the enſuing Danger to the whole
'Nation; Forces then drawn from *Scotland* and
'*Ireland*, for the Diſanimation of theſe Contrivan-
'ces; and yet, after all this, the wakeful Eye of
'an Army, of whoſe Virtue there had been ſome
'Proof in Times paſt, could by no Means diſcou-
'rage them from proceeding in this Attempt, nor
'fruſtrate this Riſing in ſeveral Parts of the Nation
'at one and the ſame Time: Theſe Things alone
'are enough to ſatisfy that theſe Troubles were
'the Fruit of great Deliberation and Conſent, and
'that they fell not out by Chance, or as the raſh

'Un-

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'Undertakings of ſome few inconſiderable Perſons: 'But we need not ſpend Time upon this Subject, 'believing that every one doth readily concur with 'us, that this Deſign was general, and levelled 'againſt all thoſe who had, upon any Account 'whatſoever, adhered to and owned this Cauſe.

'This then being the Caſe, we have, in our 'own Judgment, ſuch clear and convincing 'Grounds to juſtify our Proceedings with thoſe 'Men which could ſcarcely be expected in Caſes 'of ſecret Treaſons and Conſpiracies, a bare Cor-'reſpondency wherein hath been always accounted 'Capital: And if the Supreme Magiſtrate were in 'theſe Caſes tied up to the ordinary Rules, and 'had not a Liberty to proceed, upon Illuſtrations 'of Reaſon, againſt thoſe who are continually ſu-'ſpected, there would be wanting, in ſuch a State, 'the Means of common Safety; Conſpiracies could 'never be prevented, nor would the Precipitations 'of our Enemies, from one miſchievous Deſign 'to another, ever hurt them.

'Beſides, admit that ſome of that Party were as 'innocent, as they would now have it believed 'they were, enough hath been done by their Fel-'lows in a common Cauſe (which hardly any of 'them know how to diſown, which they love, 'and of which they glory) to draw the whole 'Party under a juſt Suſpicion, and the Conſe-'quences thereof. All that are peaceably-minded 'in the Nation are ready to ſay, Theſe are the 'Men of whom we go in Danger; and certainly 'it is both juſt and neceſſary that all thoſe, of 'whom the People have Reaſon to be afraid, (not 'only as their profeſs'd Enemies, but alſo nume-'rous) ſhould pay for ſecuring the State againſt 'that Danger which they are the Authors of.

'And former Times have held this Way of 'Proceeding juſt and reaſonable, of which we 'could give many pregnant Inſtances, as well in 'this as in other Nations, ſome of which were 'done in the Memory of ſeveral Perſons now li-'ving: And the Reaſons why States may proceed

'in

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'in this Manner, is, becauſe that which is intend-
'ed to be exemplary, for the terrifying Men from
'ſuch Attempts for the future, will not otherways
'be proportionable to the Danger of the paſt Of-
'fence; and ſo the public Power can never be ſe-
'cure, whoſe Safety is the People's, but will be
'always expoſed to the ſame Miſchief and Ha-
'zards.

'It is a Trouble to us to be ſtill rubbing upon
'the old Sore, diſobliging thoſe whom we hoped
'Time and Patience might make Friends; but
'we can, with Comfort, appeal to God, and dare
'alſo to their own Conſciences, whether this Way
'of proceeding with them hath been the Matter
'of our Choice, or that which we have ſought an
'Occaſion for; or whether, contrary to our own
'Inclinations, and the conſtant Courſe of our Car-
'riage towards them (which hath been to oblige
'them by Kindneſs to forſake their former Prin-
'ciples, which God hath ſo often and ſo eminently
'born witneſs againſt) we have not been conſtrain-
'ed and neceſſitated hereunto; and, without the
'doing whereof, we ſhould have been wanting to
'our Duty to God and theſe Nations.

'That Character of Difference between them
'and the reſt of the People, which is now put up-
'on them, is occaſioned by themſelves, not by us;
'there is nothing they have more induſtriouſly la-
'boured in than this, To keep themſelves ſeparated
'and diſtinguiſh'd from the well-affected of this
'Nation; to which End they have kept their Con-
'verſation a-part, as if they would avoid the very
'Beginning of Union; have bred and educated
'their Children by the ſequeſtred and ejected Cler-
'gy, and very much confined their Marriages and
'Alliances within their own Party, as if they
'meant to entail their Quarrel, and prevent the
'Means to reconcile Poſterity; which, with the
'great Pains they take upon all Occaſions to leſſen
'and ſuppreſs the Eſteem and Honour of the *Eng-*
'*liſh* Nation, in all their Actions and Undertakings
'abroad, ſtriving withal to make other Nations

'diſtinguiſh

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'distinguish their Interest from it, gives us ground 'to judge that they have separated themselves from 'the Body of the Nation: And, therefore, we leave 'it to all Mankind to judge, whether we ought not 'to be timely jealous of that Separation, and to 'proceed so against them, as they may be at the 'Charge of those Remedies which are required a-'gainst the Dangers they have bred.

'But if there be yet any Person that hath been 'of that Party, who will be exempted from this 'Confederacy, and the Inconveniences depending 'thereupon, that can say, in Truth, he hath changed 'his Interest, was wholly free from the aforesaid 'Design, and shew, by good Works preceding 'the late Insurrection, a Disclaimer of his former 'Course and Conversation, (the surest Characters 'in this Case, of a Person satisfied with the Trou-'bles of the Time past, and meaning for the future 'to live quietly) upon making it appear, he shall 'be dealt with according to his Integrity; or if a-'ny of that Party, being yet sensible of the Error 'of their Way, shall change and forsake their for-'mer Interest, and give real Demonstrations there-'of, we shall much more esteem of their Refor-'mation, than desire their Harm or Prejudice. In 'the mean Time, we do assure ourselves, that the 'Good and well-affected of the Land, for whose 'Sake we have chiefly published these Things, 'that they may know the Grounds on which we 'do proceed towards their Preservation, will re-'ceive Encouragement hereby; and enjoy, with 'Love and Unity amongst themselves, the Fruits 'and Effects of that common Interest which they 'have long pursued; and not suffer themselves to 'be divided, by any Artifices whatsoever, into Par-'ties and Factions one against the other, whereof 'the Enemy hath made great Advantages, to keep 'us from that Settlement and Reformation, which 'every good Man longs for, and the Want whereof 'doth greatly provoke the Lord against us.

HENRY SCOBELL,
Clerk of the Council.

Lord

Lord *Clarendon* informs us [m], 'That the foregoing Declaration was ſent to the King, then at *Cologne*, where his Majeſty cauſed an Anſwer to be made to it upon the Grounds that were laid down in it, and as if it were done by one who had been always of the Parliament's Side, and who was well pleaſed to ſee the Cavaliers reduced to that Extremity; but with ſuch Reflections upon the Tyranny that was exerciſed over the Kingdom by *Cromwell*'s Major-Generals, and upon the Foulneſs of the Breach of Truſt the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the Nation to look upon him as a deteſtable Enemy, who was to be removed by any Way that offer'd itſelf.' Inter-regnum. 1655. November. Which was anſwered by the King's Order.

In order to exhibit as compleat a View as poſſibly we can, of the Unconſtitutional Powers theſe Major-Generals were inveſted with by *Cromwell* and his Council, we ſhall give an Abſtract of their Inſtructions and Orders, as publiſhed by Authority [n]. Hereby they were authorized,

1. 'To endeavour the ſuppreſſing all Tumults, Inſurrections, Rebellion, or other unlawful Aſſemblies, within their reſpective Provinces, as alſo all Invaſions from abroad; and to that Purpoſe to draw together their Forces or Troops [o], and march to ſuch Places as they ſhould judge convenient, in *England* and *Wales*. The Inſtructions given to *Cromwell*'s Major-Generals;

2. 'To take Care and give Order, That all Papiſts, and others who had been in Arms againſt the

[m] *Hiſtory*, Vol. VI. p. 572.

[n] *Mercurius Politicus*, N°. 288, 89, 90.——*Public Intelligencer*, N°. 13.——*Nouvelles Ordinaires des Londres*, N°. 292, 3.

[o] Theſe Forces conſiſted of Horſe and Foot, who were to have a certain Salary conſtantly paid, and not to be called upon to ſerve but upon emergent Occaſions, and then to attend ſo many Days at their own Charge; and, if they ſtaid longer, they were to be under the ſame Pay with the Army; but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major-General. A Horſeman had eight Pounds a-year, for which he was to be ready with his Horſe, if he was call'd upon; if he was not, he might attend his own Affairs. By this Means *Cromwell* had a ſecond Army in View, powerful enough to controle the firſt, if they at any Time deſerv'd to be ſuſpected. *Clarendon*, Vol. VI. p. 585.

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the Parliament, or aſſiſted the late King or his Son in the late Wars, as alſo all others who were dangerous to the Peace of the Nation, might be diſarmed, and their Arms ſecured in ſome adjacent Garriſons, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, for the public Service.

3. 'To the end that the Highways and Roads might be more ſafe for Travellers, and the many Robberies and Burglaries, daily committed, prevented, theſe Major-Generals, their Captains and Officers, were to uſe their beſt Endeavours to find out all Thieves, Robbers, Highway-Men, and other dangerous Perſons, and the Houſes and Places which they frequented and uſually lodged in; and to take Courſe for apprehending and proſecuting them and their Receivers, agreeable to Law: And to appoint a Reward, not exceeding ten Pounds, to ſuch Perſon as ſhould diſcover and apprehend any Thief, Highway-Man, or Robber, to be paid after the Conviction of the Party ſo diſcovered and apprehended, which the Sheriff for the Time being was to pay, and which ſhould be allowed to him in his Account.

4. 'To have a ſtrict Eye upon the Converſation and Carriage of all diſaffected Perſons; and give the like Direction to all their Captains and Officers at their Meetings: As alſo that no Horſe-Races, Cock-Fightings, Bear-Batings, Stage-Plays, or any unlawful Aſſemblies, be permitted within their reſpective Provinces; foraſmuch as Treaſon and Rebellion is uſually hatched and contrived againſt the State upon ſuch Occaſions, and much Evil and Wickedneſs committed.

5. 'To inform themſelves of all idle and looſe People who had no viſible Way of Livelihood, nor Calling, or Employment; and to conſider by what Means they might be compelled to work, or be ſent out of the Commonwealth: As alſo how the Poor might be employed, and better provided for; and to certify the ſame to the Lord-Protector and his Council, for further Direction thereupon: And, in the mean Time, to endeavour that the Laws,

Laws, in ſuch Caſes, be put in effectual Execution. Inter-regnum 1655. November.

6. 'In their conſtant Carriage and Converſation, to promote Godlineſs and Virtue, and diſcourage Profaneneſs and Ungodlineſs; and to endeavour, with the Juſtices of the Peace, Miniſters, and Officers intruſted with the Care of thoſe Things, that the Laws againſt Drunkenneſs, Blaſphemy, and taking the Name of God in vain, by ſwearing and curſing, Plays and Interludes, and profaning the Lord's Day, and ſuch like Wickedneſs and Abominations, be put in effectual Execution.

7. 'To take an exact Account what Proceedings had been upon the Ordinance for ejecting of ignorant, inſufficient, and ſcandalous Miniſters and Schoolmaſters; and to take Care that the ſame be effectually put in Execution; and, from Time to Time, to give an Account to the Lord Protector and his Council.

8. 'Every Maſter of a Family or Houſholder, or other Perſon within the Qualifications aforeſaid, having menial Servants, was required to give Security by his own Bond, in ſuch Sum as the Major-Generals reſpectively, within their Charges, ſhould think fit, that their ſaid menial Servants ſhould well and peaceably behave themſelves towards his Highneſs the Lord-Protector, and his Succeſſors, Lord-Protectors of the Commonwealth, and towards all the good People of the ſame, while he ſhould continue in that Service; and, during that Time, was duly to make his perſonal Appearance before the Major-General, or his Deputy, or ſuch Perſon as they ſhould appoint, at ſuch Time and Place, and as often as they ſhould direct, on Notice left at his Maſter's Houſe.

9. 'Every Major General, and his Deputy, was to keep a perfect Liſt of all Perſons within their reſpective Charges, who gave ſuch Security; and, from Time to Time, return the ſame to the Regiſter, together with their Quality and Places of Abode.

10. 'An

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10. 'An Office of Regiſtry was appointed to be ſet up in *London*, to whom the ſeveral Major-Generals, or their Deputies, were to return ſuch Liſts, to be forthwith enter'd alphabetically into a Regiſter to be kept for that Purpoſe; and, as often as any Perſon, who had given ſuch Security, ſhould make his perſonal Appearance at that Office, the Regiſter was to enter the Name of that Perſon, together with the Place whence he came, and the Pariſh, Street, and Houſe where he intended to lodge during his Abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, or the Suburbs thereof, and the Place to which he ſhould remove, as often as he chang'd the ſame during his Abode there: And upon Notice that ſuch Perſon intended to remove into the Country, then the Regiſter was to ſignify to the Major-General of that County, or to his Deputy, the Name of ſuch Perſon, together with the Place of his former Abode, and how long he had been in *London*, and to what Place he was removed; and in caſe the ſaid Regiſter ſhould find, upon the perſonal Appearance of ſuch Perſon, and the giving in his Name, and the Place from whence he came, that there was no Perſon of that Name returned to him in the Liſt from the Major-General of that Aſſociation, then the ſaid Regiſter was to give Notice to the Secretary of State of ſuch Perſon and his Lodging.

11. 'Every Perſon, whether Foreigner or other, who ſhould, after the firſt Day of *December*, 1655, come from beyond the Seas to land in any Port or Place of the Commonwealth, was required, within twenty-four Hours after ſuch landing, perſonally to appear before ſuch Perſon as the Major-General for the Time being, or his Deputy, within their reſpective Charges, ſhould appoint in ſuch Port; and deliver in his Name, together with the Place from whence he came, and the Place whither he intended to go, to be enter'd in a Book kept for that Purpoſe; and alſo give an Engagement, that in caſe he ſhould come to *London* or *Weſt-*

Weſtminſter, that he would, within twenty-four Hours after his Arrival, make his perſonal Appearance before the Regiſter aforeſaid, or his Deputy, and deliver unto him his true Name, and of the Place whence he came, and of the Pariſh, Street, and Houſe where he ſhould lodge, and of his Buſineſs; and, if he was a Foreigner, then of his Correſpondents there. And in caſe ſuch Perſon had been in Arms, or aſſiſting in the late War againſt the Commonwealth, or had before that Time been baniſh'd, then, upon the Change of his Lodging, or other Removal, he was to give the like Notice: And in caſe any Perſon aforeſaid ſhould fail in what was hereby required of him, or aſſume to himſelf any falſe or counterfeit Name, or not lodge at the Place he aſſign'd, he was to ſuffer Impriſonment during the Pleaſure of his Highneſs or his Council. And to the end no Perſon might be ignorant of the Danger of a Failure herein, the Perſon ſo engaging was, at the Time of entering into ſuch Engagement, to be acquainted with this Order; a Copy whereof was to be ſet up in the Cuſtom-houſe, in every Port of the Commonwealth. Inter-regnum. 1655. November.

12. 'The Perſon appointed to take the ſaid Entry and Engagment, was, from Time to Time, to return to the Regiſter the Names of all Perſons ſo coming from beyond the Seas, who was to enter them in a Book by itſelf, and alſo the Appearance of every ſuch Perſon, when it ſhould happen, together with the Place where he intended to lodge, during his Abode in or about *London*; and if he came not to *London*, then the Perſon ſo taking ſuch Entry, was to ſignify the ſame to the Major-General, within whoſe Charge the Place, to which ſuch Perſon ſhould intend to go, did lye.

13. 'As often as any Inhabitant of *London* or *Weſtminſter*, who had given Security as aforeſaid, ſhould intend to remove his Habitation or change his Place of Abode, ſuch Perſon, before his Removal, was to give Notice thereof, in his own Perſon, to the Regiſter or his Deputy, who was thereupon to enter his Name, together with the Places whence

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and whither he was to remove; and, by the next Poſt, to ſignify the ſame to the Major-General within whoſe Charge the County lay whither ſuch Perſon intended to remove.

14. 'For the better Eaſe of Perſons obliged to make ſuch Appearance and Entry as aforeſaid, the ſaid Regiſter had Power to appoint ſeveral Deputies to reſide in ſeveral Places of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, who were, from Time to Time, to tranſmit the ſame to the chief Office of the Regiſtry, to the end that one perfect Regiſter might be there kept of the whole.

15. 'Where any Robbery, Murder, or other notorious Breach of the Peace, was at any Time committed, the Actors whereof remain'd concealed, the Perſons proſecuting might apply themſelves to the Major-General, or his Deputy; who, upon Notice thereof, had Power, as well by ſummoning all Perſons who liv'd diſſolutely or without a Calling, or at a higher Rate having no viſible Eſtate anſwerable thereunto, and had given Bond as aforeſaid, if he ſhould ſee Cauſe, as by the Diligence of all Civil Officers, and other Perſons, under his Command, according to their reſpective Duties, in apprehending all ſuſpected Perſons who paſs'd through, or lay lurking within any Place under his Charge, to endeavour the finding out and apprehending the Offenders; and if he ſhould ſee Cauſe, upon Requeſt of the Parties proſecuting, to ſend Notice thereof to one of the Major-Generals, or their Deputies, of the neighbouring Aſſociation, who were to do the like, for the better Diſcovery and Apprehenſion of the Offenders.

16. 'A more than ordinary Regard was to be had to the ſecuring of the Roads, chiefly about *London*.

17. 'No Houſe ſtanding alone, and out of a Town, was to be permitted to ſell Ale, Beer, or Wine, or give Entertainment; but ſuch Licenſe to be called in, and ſuppreſſed.

18. 'No

18. 'No Perſon to be permitted to ride Poſt without a ſpecial Warrant, nor any Horſes laid to convey Paſſengers, without Notice thereof firſt given to the next Juſtice of the Peace to the Place where ſuch Horſes ſhould be ſo laid, and of the Perſons for whoſe Uſe: Whatſoever Inn, Ale-houſe, or Tavern, permitted Horſes to be ſo laid, and did not diſcover the ſame before the Perſon made uſe thereof, was to forfeit their Licence, and be ſuppreſſed, and not have any Licence regranted. Inter-regnum. 1655. November.

19. 'For the effecting more particularly a Reformation in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, all Gaming-Houſes, and Houſes of evil Fame, were to be induſtriouſly ſought out, and ſuppreſſed within thoſe Cities, and the Liberties thereof.

20. 'All Houſe-Keepers within the ſame, who had no Trade or Calling, or did not labour in ſuch Trade or Calling, or had no other viſible Eſtate, but were obſerved generally to lodge and harbour looſe and diſſolute Perſons, were to be bound to their good Behaviour, and compelled to work; and, for want of Security, to be ſent to *Bridewell*.

21. 'All Ale-houſes, Taverns, and Victualling-houſes, towards the Skirts of the ſaid Cities, were to be ſuppreſſed, except ſuch as were neceſſary to lodge Travellers; the Number of Ale-houſes, in all other Parts of the Town, to be abated, and none continued but ſuch as could lodge Strangers, and were of good Repute.

Thus much for the Inſtructions and Orders given to theſe Major-Generals:—We ſhall next endeavour to point out what Uſe they made of their exorbitant Commiſſions, and the oppreſſive Conſequences thereof to the Subject. Account of their Conduct.

It appears from the general Tenor of the Contemporary Writers[r] 'That theſe Major-Generals carried

[r] *The perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life and Actions of* Oliver Cromwell, p. 287.——*The true Portraiture of his Highneſs,* Oliver *Lord-Protector, with a ſhort View of his Government*, p. 27.——*Thurloe*, Vol. IV. p. 117, 344.——*Clarendon* Vol. VI. p. 585.——*Ludlow*, Vol. II. p. 559.——*Flagellum*; *or the*

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carried Things with unheard-of Inſolence in their ſeveral Precincts, decimating to Extremity whom they pleaſed, and interrupting the Proceedings at Law upon Petitions of thoſe who pretended themſelves aggrieved; threatening ſuch as would not yeild a ready Submiſſion to their Orders, with Tranſportation to the Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*; and ſuffering none to eſcape their Perſecution, but thoſe that would betray their own Party, by diſcovering the Perſons that had acted with them and for them.'

In purſuance of the 10th Article of the Inſtructions before-recited, a Major-General's Office was opened in *Fleet-Street*, where the Recognizances of all ſuſpected Perſons, and all the Dependences and Concerns thereof were recorded; by which Means *Cromwell* intended to inform himſelf of the Value and Quality of every Eſtate and Perſon, together with the Number of Cavaliers in each County throughout the Kingdom. Moſt of the Royaliſts, formerly ſecured, were hereupon ſet at Liberty; but by the Proclamation before-mentioned, requiring them to leave *London* within ſix Days after Publication thereof, they were driven into the Country within the Bounds of the ſeveral Major-Generals, who preſently took Cognizance of them, and ſummoned them to their reſpective Reſidences: Theſe Officers ſat ſometimes without, other Times with, the old Committees, where they received Accounts of Lands and Eſtates, which were rated to the tenth Penny yearly; but ſome Perſons bought off that Tax by a preſent Sum at three Years Purchaſe.

Theſe Major-Generals alſo committed to Priſon whomſoever they thought fit to ſuſpect; took Care to levy all Monies appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Public Uſe; ſequeſter'd all who did not pay their Decimation,

the Life, Death, and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, p. 165.—— *Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, p. 378.—— *Hobbes's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars* p. 262.—— *Dugdale's View of the late Troubles*, p. 450.——Some of theſe Writers make the Number of the Major-Generals only 11, ſome 14; but their Number was 12, as before-recited.

mation, or such other Payments as they were made liable to; nor was there any Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himself.——In short; as there was scarce any Thing they might not do, in consequence of the arbitrary Powers they were possess'd of, so there was hardly any Thing they did not do; and they made such an ill Use of their Authority, and *Cromwell* himself began to be so jealous of these petty Monarchs of his own raising, that their Commissions were revoked soon after the Meeting of the next Parliament. But

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Before we enter upon the Proceedings of that Assembly we shall take Notice of such Proclamations and Ordinances, not already given in their Order of Time, as were pass'd by the Lord-Protector and his Council since the Dissolution of the last Parliament in *January*, 1654: And in these we shall be the more particular, as there is not the least Mention of them in *Scobell's Collections:* An Omission we can nowise account for, because all the Ordinances pass'd by *Cromwell*, between the Resignation of his first Parliament and the Assembling of his second, are duly entered there. This Deficiency we shall endeavour to supply from the original Edition of each, printed by his Highness's Printer at the Time of passing them. The most remarkable were these,

Ordinances pass'd by *Cromwell* and his Council, since the Dissolution of the last Parliament.

A Proclamation, which was issued some little Time before the Assizes, whereby the Judges were particularly enjoin'd to give Directions in their respective Circuits, for a speedy and due Execution of the Laws made for suppressing and preventing Drunkenness, profane Swearing and Cursing, Adultery and Fornication; also for observing the Assize of Bread, Ale, and Fuel, and touching Weights and Measures; for setting the Poor on Work, and providing for such as, by Age or Impotency, were not able to maintain themselves; for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars; for taking the Accounts of Church-wardens and Overseers of the Poor; and against disturbing of public Preachers and the Profanation of the Lord's

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Day. Another Proclamation, expreſly prohibiting the Admiſſion of all Delinquents to any Office of Truſt or Authority in the Commonwealth, or voting at any public Election. And a third, againſt the Increaſe of new Buildings in the Suburbs of *London*.

An Ordinance *For better regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of the High Court of Chancery*: But this being printed at large in Mr. *Whitlocke's Memorials*, with his Objections thereto, it may be ſufficient for us to obſerve, That he and his Colleague, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, look'd upon the Rules therein preſcribed as ſo inconſiſtent with their Oaths as Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, that they refuſed to put the Ordinance in Execution; whereupon *Cromwell* obliged them to ſurrender their Commiſſions.

Another *For appointing a Council of Commerce*; by which *Cromwell*'s eldeſt Son *Richard*, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, all the Members of the Council, the Judges, ſeveral Serjeants at Law, Aldermen of *London*, *York*, *Briſtol*, *Newcaſtle*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, *Dover*, *Southampton*, and *Exeter*, or any ſeven or more of them, were authorized to take into Conſideration all Ways and Means for advancing, encouraging, and regulating the Trade and Navigation of the Commonwealth; to which Purpoſe they were impowered to receive ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be made to them; and to ſend for the Officers of the Exciſe, the Cuſtoms, and the Mint, or ſuch other Perſons whom they ſhould deem capable of giving Advice upon this Subject: They were to examine the Books and Papers of the late Council of Commerce, and all other public Papers which might afford them neceſſary Information; and were alſo authorized to appoint a Secretary and other Officers, with proper Salaries. Whatever Propoſals were laid before theſe Commiſſioners, which they judged to be for the Advancement of Trade and Commerce, were to be certified to the Lord-Protector and his Council, who were to give the neceſſary Orders therein.

For

For appointing Commiſſioners for charitable Uſes. These Commiſſioners were hereby authorized to redreſs the Abuſes committed in the Adminiſtration of Lands, Goods, or Money, formerly given by Kings or Queens of *England*, and by any Bodies Corporate, or other well-diſpoſed Perſons, for the Relief of the aged and impotent Poor; ſick or maim'd Soldiers and Mariners; for the Maintenance of public Schools, and Scholars in the Univerſities; for the Reparation of Churches, Bridges, Ports, Havens, Sea-Banks and Highways; for the Education and Preferment of Orphans; for the Marriage of poor Damſels; for erecting Houſes of Correction; for the Aſſiſtance and Encouragement of young Tradeſmen and Artificers; for Relief of decay'd Perſons; the Reception of Priſoners; the Redemption of Captives; and other pious or public Uſes: By this Ordinance it was enacted, That all Perſons aggrieved in any of the aforeſaid Particulars, by the Fraud or Violence of another, how great or rich ſoever, might prefer their Complaints to the ſaid Commiſſioners, who were required to give immediate Redreſs againſt the reſpective Oppreſſors, or their Heirs, without having any Thing to fear, either in preſent or in future, from the Power or Greatneſs of their Adverſaries. And this Ordinance was required to be read in all Churches, for the public Information of the Subject. Inter-regnum. 1655.

For ſecuring the Peace of the Commonwealth. Hereby all Perſons who had been ſequeſter'd for Delinquency, or borne Arms on Behalf of the late King or his Son, againſt the Parliament, or adher'd to, favour'd, or ſupported, any of the Royal Army, were diſabled to buy, uſe, or keep in their Houſes or elſewhere, any Arms whatſoever, offenſive or defenſive, on Pain of the Loſs thereof, and to be treated in ſuch Manner as the Lord-Protector and his Council ſhould direct. They were alſo diſabled from entertaining in their Houſes, either as Chaplains, Schoolmaſters, or as private Tutors, any ſequeſter'd Clergyman, Schoolmaſter, or Univerſity

Inter-regnum. 1655.

versity Scholar: No Person sequester'd, or ejected for Delinquency or Scandal, was to be permitted to teach a School, or to preach in any public or private Assembly, except in their own Family nor baptize or administer the Lord's Supper, marry any Person, or use the Common Prayer, upon Pain of being proceeded against as Contemners of the Authority of the Lord-Protector and his Council. And this Ordinance was directed to be proclaimed throughout every City and Market-Town in *England*, that none might pretend Ignorance thereof.

For appointing Commissioners to put in Execution the several Laws against printing scandalous and unlicensed Books, and for the better Regulation of the Press. Of these we have already given an Abstract in the Course of this Work; we shall therefore only observe that, by the Ordinance now before us, no Books of News, Occurrences, or the like, were to be hereafter printed, but by the Command or License of the Lord-Protector or his Council, or the Secretary of State. So that the Public were to know nothing of what was doing unless by the Grace and Favour of his Highness

A Review of the most considerable Events in the Year 1655.

As it has been our Custom, throughout the whole Course of this Work, to connect the History of the Times with the Proceedings of Parliament, we shall mention the most remarkable foreign Occurrences that happened this Year. And first,

The Duke of *Savoy*'s Persecution of the Protestants in *Piedmont*, who applied to *Cromwell* for Relief, furnished him with an Opportunity of setting up himself as the Protector of the Reformed Religion abroad; nor was he wanting to improve an Incident so correspondent with his ambitious Designs, and so conducive to advance his Reputation in *Europe*; for, upon the first Notice of the Distresses of these poor People, he issued out a Proclamation for the Observance of a General Fast to implore the Blessing of the Almighty upon the Cause; ordered Collections to be made, throughout the Nation, for their Relief, which amounted to

above

above 100,000 *l. Sterl.* and intereſted himſelf ſo far in their Behalf, as to prevail upon the *French* King to procure an Accommodation betwixt them and their Sovereign, who had refuſed to admit of *Cromwell*'s own Mediation. [r] Inter-regnum. 1655.

Other remarkable Incidents were the unſucceſsful Attempt of the *Engliſh* upon *Hiſpaniola*, for which Admiral *Penn* and General *Venables* were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*; though, before their Return home, they made the Conqueſt of the Iſland of *Jamaica* from the *Spaniards*, which has ever ſince continued (and long may it continue) a Fief to the Crown of *Great-Britain* [s].

Soon after Admiral *Blake* bombarded *Tunis* in the *Mediterranean*, and compell'd the Dey to ſubmit to a Treaty for releaſing the *Engliſh* Captives.

Next followed a Declaration of War with *Spain*, and a Treaty of Peace with *France*, which was, perhaps, the greateſt Overſight in Politics *Cromwell* was ever guilty of, with reſpect to the Tranquility of *Europe*; ſince it proved one principal Means of advancing the Power of *France* to that Greatneſs it has ſince arriv'd at.

But leaving theſe Foreign Affairs, the bare Mention whereof is ſufficient for our Purpoſe, ſince they are ſo amply diſcuſſed by the General Hiſtorians; we ſhall look into a Matter of a Domeſtic Nature, that happened the latter End of this Year, which has been wholely paſſed over by ſome Writers, and groſsly miſrepreſented by others, though it gave the greateſt Alarm to the whole Nation. This was a Treaty between *Cromwell* and the *Jews*, who applied

[r] The whole Narrative of this Affair was publiſhed by *Cromwell*'s Order, under the following Title, *A Collection of the ſeveral Papers ſent to his Highneſs the Lord-Protector, concerning the bloody and barbarous Maſſacres, Murders, and other Cruelties, committed on many thouſands of the Reform'd, or Proteſtants, dwelling in the Valleys of* Piedmont, *by the Duke of* Savoy*'s Forces, join'd therein with the* French *Army, and ſeveral* Iriſh *Regiments.*

[s] The Occaſion of the Diſappointment at *Hiſpaniola*, and the taking of *Jamaica*, are amply related in two Letters from General *Venables* to General *Montague*, afterward Earl of *Sandwich*, printed in Mr. *Carte*'s *Collections*, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 46. *et ſeq.*

Inter-regnum. 1655. December.

applied for Leave to ſettle in his Dominions.—— We ſhall firſt give the Account of this Affair, as publiſhed by Authority; and then add ſuch further Particulars as our *Collections* afford us upon the Subject.

The Narrative, publiſhed by Order of *Cromwell* and his Council, was *in hæc Verba:* [a]

Whitehall, December 4.

'Divers eminent Miniſters of the Nation, having been called hither by Letter from the Lord-Protector, were preſent with his Highneſs and the Council in the Council-Chamber; when the following Propoſals, made by certain *Jews*, of whom Rabbi *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, of *Amſterdam*, was the Chief, were read to them.

The *Jews* apply to the Lord-Protector for Leave to ſettle in his Dominions;

'THESE are the Graces and Favours which, in the Name of my *Hebrew* Nation, I *Manaſſah Ben Iſrael* do requeſt of your Moſt Serene 'Highneſs, whom God make proſperous, and 'give happy Succeſs to, in all your Enterpriſes, 'as your humble Servant doth wiſh and deſire.

1. 'The firſt Thing I deſire of your Highneſs 'is, That our *Hebrew* Nation may be received and 'admitted into this puiſſant Commonwealth, un-'der the Protection and Safeguard of your High-'neſs even as the Natives themſelves. And, for 'greater Security in Time to come, I do ſupplicate 'your Highneſs to cauſe an Oath to be given (if 'you ſhall think it fit) to all the Heads and Gene-'rals of Arms to defend us upon all Occaſions.

2. 'That it will pleaſe your Highneſs to allow 'us public Synagogues, not only in *England*, but 'alſo in all other Places under the Power of your 'Highneſs; and to obſerve in all Things our Re-'ligion, as we ought.

3. 'That we may have a Place, or Cœmitery, 'out of the Town to bury our Dead, without be-'ing troubled by any.

4. 'That

[a] Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to his Highneſs the Lord-Protector.

4 'That we may be permitted to traffic freely 'in all Sorts of Merchandiſe, as others. Inter-regnum. 1655. December.

5. 'That (to the end thoſe who ſhall come 'may be for the Utility of the People of this Na- 'tion, and may live without bringing Prejudice to 'any, and not give Offence) your Moſt Serene 'Highneſs will make Choice of a Perſon of Qua- 'lity, to inform himſelf of and receive the Paſſ- 'ports of thoſe who ſhall come in; who, upon their 'Arrival, ſhall certify him thereof, and oblige 'themſelves, by Oath, to maintain Fealty to your 'Highneſs in this Land.

6. 'And (to the Intent they may not be trou- 'bleſome to the Judges of the Land, touching the 'Conteſts and Differences that may ariſe betwixt 'thoſe of our Nation) that your Moſt Serene High- 'neſs will give Licence to the Head of the Syna- 'gogue, to take with him two Almoners of his 'Nation to accord and determine all the Differen- 'ces and Proceſs, conformable to the *Moſaic* Law; 'with Liberty, nevertheleſs, to appeal from their 'Sentence to the Civil Judges; the Sum wherein 'the Parties ſhall be condemned, being firſt de- 'poſited.

7. 'That in caſe there have been any Laws a- 'gainſt our *Jewiſh* Nation, they may, in the firſt 'Place and before all Things, be revoked; to the 'end that, by this Means, we may remain with 'the greater Security under the Safeguard and Pro- 'tection of your Moſt Serene Highneſs.

'Which Things your Moſt Serene Highneſs 'granting to us, we ſhall always remain moſt af- 'fectionately obliged to pray to God for the Pro- 'ſperity of your Highneſs, and of your illuſtrious 'and ſage Council, that it will pleaſe him to give 'happy Succeſs to all the Undertakings of your 'Moſt Serene Highneſs. *Amen.*

'The Miniſters having heard theſe Propoſals read, deſired Time to conſider of them, and the next Day was ſpent in Prayer and Faſting.

'*Dec.*

Inter-regnum. 1657. December.

'*Dec.* 7. This Day, in the Afternoon, a Conference was held with the Miniſters about theſe Propoſals, in the Preſence of his Highneſs the Lord-Protector, the Lord President *Laurence*, Lord *Lambert*, Lord *Fleetwood*, and divers more of the Council, with the Lord Chief Juſtice *Glynn*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Steel*. Of the Miniſters there were Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Dr. *Wilkinſon*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Manton*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Bridge*, and many others; but nothing being concluded on, another Conference was appointed to be held on the next *Wednesday*. Accordingly,

'*Dec.* 12. The Conference was renewed in a Withdrawing Room in the Preſence of the Lord-Protector, where a Committee of the Council were met by the greateſt Part of the Miniſters and other Perſons, approved by his Highneſs to take the ſaid Propoſals into Conſideration; but nothing then reſolved upon.

'*Dec.* 14. There was another Conference on the ſame Subject. And,

'*Dec.* 18. The Committee broke up without coming to any Reſolution or even a further Adjournment.'

The Narrative concludes with this Remark, 'That his Highneſs, at theſe ſeveral Meetings, fully heard the Opinions of the Miniſters touching the ſaid Propoſals; expreſſing himſelf thereupon with Indifference and Moderation, as one that deſired only to obtain Satisfaction in a Matter of ſo high and religious a Concernment; there being many glorious Promiſes recorded in Holy Scripture, concerning the Calling and Converſion of the *Jews* to the Faith of *Chriſt*: But the Reaſon why nothing was concluded upon was, becauſe his Highneſs proceeded in this as in all other Affairs, with good Advice and mature Deliberation.'

Which Propoſal proves abortive.

Thus far by Authority. ——

We ſhall next proceed to inquire how this Propoſal was received by the Public: The indefatigable

gable and reſolute Mr. *Prynne* publiſhed a very zealous Remonſtrance againſt it[a]: The Aim of which was to ſhew, That the permitting the *Jews* to reſide in *England*, according to the foregoing Propoſals, was highly criminal; as being the greateſt Affront offered to the Son of God, the Author of our Redemption, that any *Chriſtian* Government could be guilty of: That for *Cromwell* to grant the *Jews* the public Exerciſe of their Religion, when he and his Council had ſo lately paſſed an Ordinance prohibiting Thouſands of *Chriſtian* Miniſters from preaching the Goſpel, for no other Reaſon than their having formerly adhered to the Royal Party, was, in the higheſt Degree, both unreaſonable and unjuſt: That the Argument urged for Admiſſion of the *Jews* upon a Hope of their being converted to *Chriſtianity* by their Reſidence in *England*, was a meer Pretence to cover another Deſign, that of bringing a large Sum of Money into the Protector's Coffers: In ſhort, our Author does not ſcruple to compare this intended Bargain with the execrable Propoſal made by *Simon Magus* to the Apoſtles. Inter-regn 1655. December

Cromwell's View in the before-mentioned Expedition againſt *Hiſpaniola*, ſeems to have been founded upon the pleaſing Proſpect of gaining ſo vaſt a Plunder from the *Spaniards*, as to be able, for the future, to govern without Parliaments; and his Failure in that Attempt induced him to give Audience to the *Jewiſh* Deputies, who, as ſome Contemporaries write[b], offered him 200,000*l.* to carry

[a] The Title Page of this elaborate Performance runs thus: *A ſhort Demurrer to the* Jews *long diſcontinued Remitter into* England: *Comprifing an exact Chronological Relation of their firſt Admiſſion into, their ill Deportment, Miſdemeanors, Condition, Sufferings, Oppreſſions, Slaughters, Plunders, by popular Inſurrections, and regal Exactions in, and their total, final Baniſhment, by Judgment and Edict of Parliament, out of* England, *never to return again. Collected out of the beſt Hiſtorians. With a brief Collection of ſuch* Engliſh *Laws and Scriptures, as ſeem ſtrongly to plead and conclude againſt their Readmiſſion into* England, *eſpecially at this Seaſon, and againſt the general Calling of the* Jewiſh *Nation. With an Anſwer to the chief Allegations for their Introduction.*

[b] *The perfect Politician*, p. 288, 291. ——*Heath*'s *Flagellum*, p. 167.

Inter-regnum. 1655. December.

carry their Propoſals into Execution. But the Miniſters appointed to attend at the Conference held in the Council Chamber on that Occaſion, diſſenting from the Protector's Project, and finding himſelf daily attack'd by Paſquinades from the Preſs, he thought it prudent to deſiſt from this *Rabbinical* Treaty.

From the foregoing Incident two *French* Authors[c] have taken Occaſion to dreſs up a very entertaining Story.—Theſe ingenious Gentlemen tell us, That the *Jews* in *Aſia* having heard of the great Fame of *Cromwell*, began to imagine he might be their long-expected Meſſiah; and, for this Purpoſe, ſent over a Deputation from an Aſſembly of their principal Rabbies and Merchants, to ſollicit a Toleration of their Religion in *England*, and to make Propoſals for the Improvement of the *Britiſh* Trade and Commerce: That thereupon, ſoon after their Arrival, they were admitted to a private Audience of *Cromwell*, for that Purpoſe, at which they expreſs'd a Deſire to purchaſe all the Manuſcripts belonging to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; which he agreeing to, they went down there accordingly; but that their principal Intention in this Propoſal was, in their Return, to inquire at *Huntingdon*, the Place of *Cromwell*'s Nativity, whether it could be made appear by his Pedigree, that any of his Anceſtors were deſcended from *Jewiſh* Parents: That this Inquiry getting Air, he ſent for the *Jewiſh* Deputies, to whom he declared he would neither ſell them the Manuſcripts at *Cambridge*, nor ſuffer the Enemies of a crucified God, whom he and his People ador'd, to reſide in his Dominions; and thereupon ordered them to be gone immediately.——We ſhall take our Leave of this Romantic Story, with obſerving how cautious we ought to be in reading the Hiſtories of our own Nation written by Foreigners.

1656.

[c] *La Vie de* Cromwell, *par Raguenet*, 4*to*. Paris, 1691, p. 322.
——————, *par Gregorio Leti*, *Tom*. 2. p. 409.

1656.

Nothing occurs worth our Notice this Year till *July*; on the 10th of which Month Writs were ſealed and ſent out, by Order of the Lord Protector in Council, for calling a new Parliament.

Inter-regnum. 1656. September.

A new Parliament call'd.

In *Auguſt* the Elections were made throughout the three Nations.

On the 3d of *September* a Thankſgiving Day was obſerv'd by *Cromwell* and his Council, for the great Victories of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, obtained on that Day, in the Years 1650, and 1651.

On the 9th a Proclamation was iſſued, requiring all Cavaliers and ſuſpected Perſons to leave *London*, and all Places within twenty Miles thereof, in three Days Time. And,

On the 17th the new Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; the Members whereof were as complaiſant to *Cromwell* as thoſe of the laſt had been refractory; for they not only confirm'd his Title of Lord-Protector, but even made him a formal Tender of the Crown. The Proceedings of this Aſſembly will begin our next Volume.

The END of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

In Vol. XIX. Page 170, Line 11, after *London*, add *or an Inquiſition after the loſt Fundamental Laws and Liberties of* England. P. 493, L. 34, for *High Commiſſion Court*, read *High Court of Juſtice.*

In Vol. XX. P. 349, L. 8, after *Parliament*, add *on the 12th.* P. 433, L. ult. for *Lord-Preſident*, read *Major-General.*

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